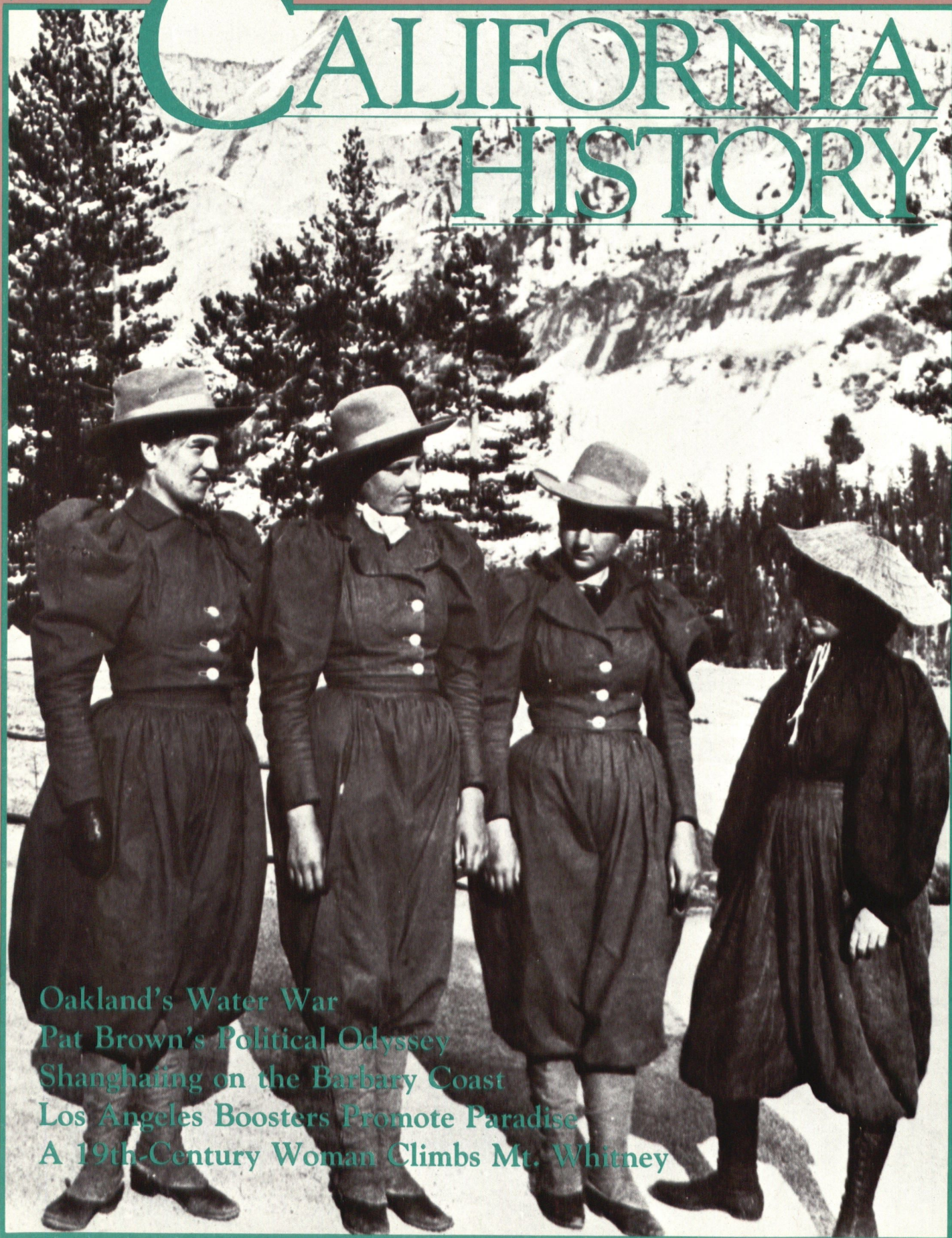


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WINTER 1985

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



Oakland's Water War
Pat Brown's Political Odyssey
Shanghaiing on the Barbary Coast
Los Angeles Boosters Promote Paradise
A 19th-Century Woman Climbs Mt. Whitney



California Snapshots



ABOVE: Calling a snowball ceasefire, two young Sonorans enjoy a slushy winter day in 1900 doing what children have done for centuries when frozen ammunition stockpiles on the ground. Perhaps Grove's Tasteless Chill Tonic—also formulated to fight malaria—awaited them at the conclusion of their cold war. CHS, San Francisco

COVER: The Sweet Sisters staunchly pose for the cameraman on a granite slab in the snowy Sierra in 1896 wearing modern mountaineering gear: fitted muttonleg-sleeve jackets, roomy woolen bloomers, and gaiters.
—Shirley Sargent Collection

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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Associate Director

MARILYN ZIEBARTH
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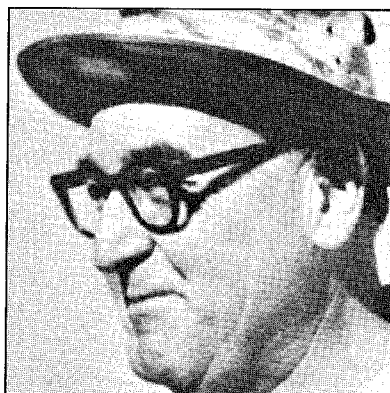
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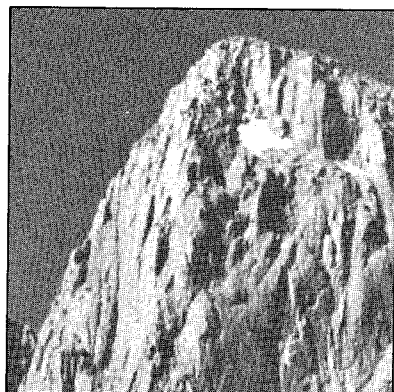


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THE POLITICAL ODYSSEY OF PAT BROWN



When Edmund G. Brown filed his papers to campaign for California attorney general in 1946, even close friends and political allies had difficulty taking him seriously. The popular San Francisco district attorney had made a name for himself by cracking down on card rooms, brothels, and abortionists. But there was one major drawback to his decision to campaign against Republican Fred Howser. Brown was a Democrat challenging the administration of one of California's most popular Republican governors, Earl Warren.

Since the turn of the century, there had been only one Democratic governor in the state, Culbert Olson. Republican domination of Sacramento's constitutional offices, including the attorney general's post, made it difficult to persuade viable Democratic candidates to run for these positions. Now it looked as if Pat Brown, who campaigned in the gladhanding Irish manner, was setting himself up for defeat.

While Brown lost the campaign, students of California politics noticed an interesting fact about Howser. Wherever he appeared during the fall of 1946, the Republican candidate never shared a rostrum with Warren. The governor was leary of this Los Angeles district attorney believed to be a protégé of the state's number one lobbyist, Artie Samish. In the months following their inauguration, Warren took further steps to distance himself from Howser. One of the governor's first moves was to establish a Commission on Organized Crime independent of the new attorney general's office.¹

No one understood the political implications of this rift better than Pat Brown. In 1949, winged by accusations that he took money from a Los Angeles bookmaker during the 1946 campaign, Howser decided not to file for reelection. His replacement on the 1950 Republican ticket, Ed Shattuck, made the fatal mistake of calling Warren a regal, power-hungry kingmaker.

Warren responded by giving his blessing to Brown's second attorney general campaign. Suddenly bill-

boards across California began carrying the names of the Republican and Democratic candidates side by side.² In November Pat Brown became the sole Democratic candidate for statewide office to survive the Republican landslide.

In just four years Pat Brown made such a name for himself as attorney general that he crossfiled for reelection and won the 1954 Democratic and Republican primaries. This triumph aside, Pat Brown might have never ascended to the state's highest office were it not for the political suicide of a man who should have known better. That benefactor was Senator William F. Knowland. To advance his presidential aspirations, the *Oakland Tribune* publisher decided to come home in 1958 and run for governor. His only stumbling block was that California already had a Republican governor, Goodwin Knight, who wanted another term. Against all reason Knowland bulldozed a switch that resulted in Knight running for the publisher's U.S. Senate seat. This cynical move destroyed both Republican politicians and helped elect Pat Brown in 1958.⁴



Who was this Democrat who took the oath of office in January 1959? The third-generation son of Irish and German immigrants who traveled to California during the gold rush, the young Brown was raised in modest circumstances. His father, Edmund Joseph, toyed with the laundry business, the film business, and photo studios but was best known for his cigar store. He also ran card parlors in later life. The boy's mother, Ida Schuckman, had moved to San Francisco from the family farm in Colusa County. Although Brown and his siblings went to Catholic grammar schools, their Unitarian mother made sure they attended every major church and synagogue in town. Through this process Pat, his brothers, and sister learned to look at God from differing points of view. It was an important lesson in flexibility, one that would serve him well in his future effort to manage an eclectic state.⁵

Although the family had limited finances, the energetic Brown was

able to work his way through night law school by clerking for a blind attorney during the day. In 1927, Brown passed the bar, and within a year he filed papers for the state assembly race on the Republican ticket. Soundly beaten, the young practitioner returned to private practice. In 1929, he married Bernice Layne, daughter of a crime-busting San Francisco police captain. While Brown's law practice flourished, a colleague, attorney Matthew Tobriner, challenged Brown's Republican bias. Two years into Roosevelt's New Deal, Brown announced a change of heart: he would join the Democratic party.⁶ Whatever good this decision may have done for his conscience, it had no immediate impact on his political aspirations. His 1939 campaign against incumbent San Francisco district attorney Matt Brady was a disaster. It wasn't until 1943 that Pat finally won Brady's seat in a rematch.

The Democrat's victory came on the strength of a "Crack Down On Crime, Elect Brown This Time" campaign. It was a page straight out of the textbook written by Oakland district attorney Earl Warren. No vice

was too small, no scam too petty, to escape Pat's ire. In a Bohemian town like San Francisco, with a long tradition of *laissez-faire* police enforcement, there were plenty of numbers runners, hookers, and abortionists for Brown to lock up.⁷

While the anti-crime plank continued to be a key part of the Brown platform during his attorney general days, the San Franciscan was also allying closely with the liberal thinkers of the California Democratic Council (CDC). Formed in 1953, the CDC's goal was to break the state's Republican stranglehold on the electorate.⁸

Thanks to cross-filing (which allowed voters to cast ballots in both the Republican and Democratic primaries) Republican Warren had captured both the Democratic and Republican nominations for governor in 1946. In response, the CDC dreamed of organizing clubs that would make sure only Democrats won the nomination of their party. As the sole Democrat holding statewide office, Brown was the CDC's Irish Catholic father figure. He did not disappoint this liberal constituency.

(Overleaf) Edmund G. Brown campaigned up and down the state with the style of a traditional people's politician.

(Right) Brown (center), shown here in 1961 with environmentalist and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas (left) and Interior Secretary Stewart Udall (right), after inspecting the proposed national seashore at Point Reyes, considered himself "an environmentalist, but also a builder."

(Far right top) Donning a straw hat, Brown beat the drum for the band of the University of California, an institution whose growth he nurtured.

(Far right bottom) Brown, shown here talking to newsmen in 1960, regretted only one major decision in his first tenure as governor—his refusal to commute the death sentence for Caryl Chessman.



An activist attorney general, Brown persuaded the U.S. Supreme Court in 1958 to reverse a lower court decision in the *Ivanhoe* case. This landmark decision upheld a 1902 policy limiting the sale of federal reclamation project water to farms of 160 acres or less. The decision was a major blow to big agricultural growers who owned holdings exceeding the 160-acre limit.⁹

Part of Brown's political appeal was his sometimes unintentional ability to make light of the day's issues. Making the case that it was far cheaper to parole young offenders than put them in expensive state institutions like Ventura School for Girls, he once asked an audience: "Do you know how much it costs to keep a woman in Ventura?"¹⁰

As an activist attorney general, Brown also fought to realize vast

state royalties from offshore oil drilling, recovered charitable trusts foolishly invested in race tracks, and uncovered lumber overloading on trucks in Mendocino County. He also exposed mistreatment of state mental hospital patients, sued *Confidential* and *Whisper* magazines for publishing objectionable materials, prosecuted Yolo County policemen who staged lascivious stage shows, worked to keep California teenagers away from Tijuana vice, and raided gambling parlors and bordellos from Pismo Beach to Eureka.¹¹

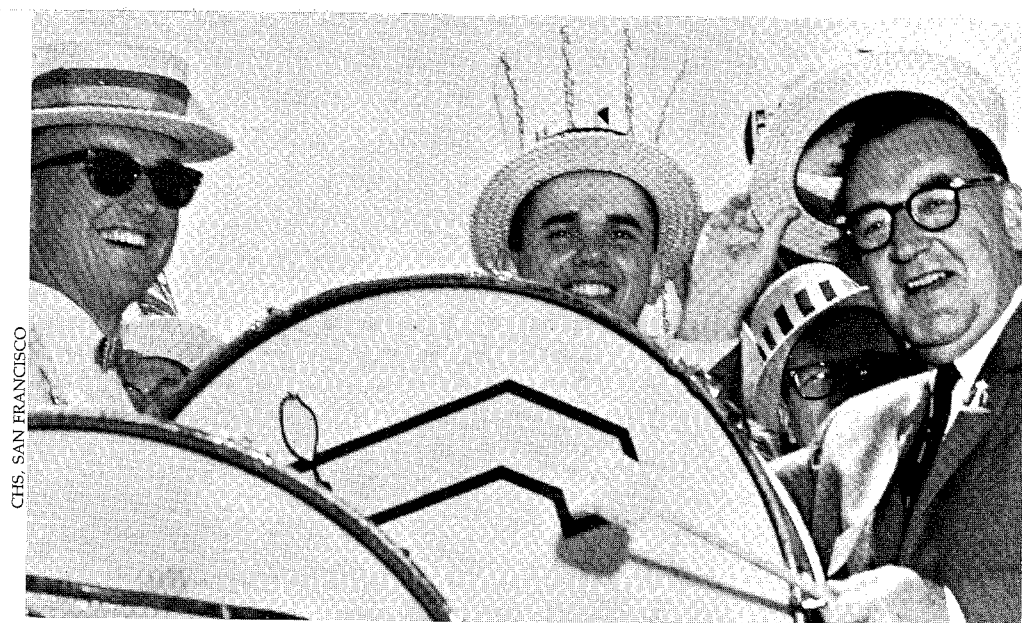
By the end of Brown's second term, he had become the state's ranking Democrat. With the CDC organization setting up a grassroots network, his party could now count on support from local clubs statewide. And party leaders believed he was the logical Democratic candidate for governor. At first, incumbent Goodwin Knight looked difficult to beat. But in the fall of 1957, when Bill Knowland bulldozed his way into the Republican gubernatorial candidacy, Brown was handed the political opportunity of a lifetime. On October 30, the attorney general launched the winning

campaign which led him to the governorship a year later.

As governor, Brown lived by a simple creed. California had great needs in areas such as transportation, education, social welfare, and recreation. All of them, he believed, could be financed by raising taxes on personal incomes, cigarettes, beer, corporations, banks, petroleum, rights to natural gas extraction, and inheritances. "We are a rich state," he insisted, "and we can pay for it."¹² Brown challenged "the people of California to become involved with the big problems of their state, to care personally and deeply about them, and to pay the taxes to help solve them." Nowhere was this policy more evident than in his vigorous year-long campaign for the California Water Plan, a joint state and federal undertaking to transport Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta water to Southern California.

Criss-crossing the state, often working the boondocks late at night,

Roger Rapoport is the author of *California Dreaming: The Political Odyssey of Pat and Jerry Brown* (Berkeley: Nolo Press, 1982). A resident of Berkeley, he is currently working on a book about the Chandler family, publishers of the *Los Angeles Times*.



Brown was a latterday missionary determined to unite north and south with a 500-mile-long aqueduct. The economic significance of this \$12 billion plan was obvious to the farmers, the developers, and the industries who stood to benefit from importation of Northern California water. No longer dependent on the Colorado River and the Owens Valley watershed, these residents would be free to tap the state's most abundant water supply.

But for Brown the Water Plan issue also symbolized his own gubernatorial ambitions—to unify this sprawling state, to have Californians put aside their partisan differences and work together for the good of one another. The north, he believed, would contribute its riparian assets and the booming south would return prosperity to all golden state citizens.

Brown's personal campaign for the water plan illustrated an optimistic, some might call it naive, faith in the healing virtues of the political process. Although opponents like Paul Taylor, the late University of California economist, called the plan ill-conceived, financially unsound,

and a blatant misappropriation of the state's water resources, Brown begged to differ.¹³

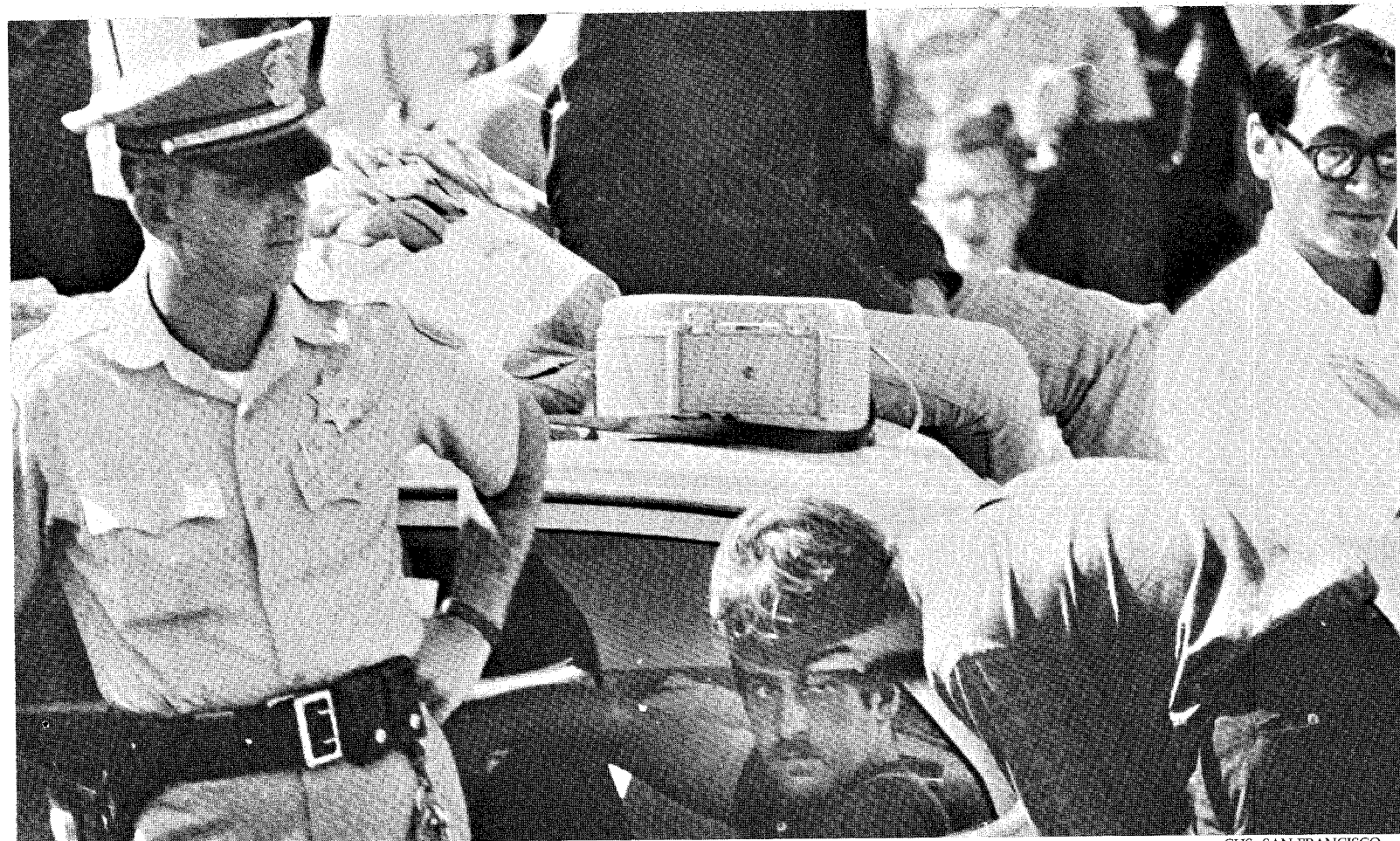
He was particularly sensitive to accusations that the water plan was a sell-out to the agribusiness interests he had bested a few years earlier in the Ivanhoe case. The fact was, explained the governor, that anyone from the smallest dirt farmer to the largest agribusiness could buy water from the new project. But to further the spirit of the old 160-acre limitation which he had defended as attorney general, Brown worked out a deal that favored the family farmer. Owners of properties under 160 acres would pay a lower rate for project water than those with farms above that threshold.

This was classic Brown political diplomacy, and it characterized his

determination to "give the small farmer a break in his battle to compete with the big mechanized farms."¹⁴ He also saw the project as a way to advance the state's environmental and economic needs: "I'm an environmentalist but I'm also a builder; I love to see projects."¹⁵

Even Brown's executive secretary, Fred Dutton, who worried that the project would cost so much "that we'll drown all the school children and all the universities in the state," was brushed aside. "The hell with it," replied Brown. "We can have both. We're a rich state."¹⁶

It was an optimistic view of California's future, one that the electorate shared. In November 1960, the water plan passed, and the following fall Brown went to Oroville to trigger a historic blast. From the



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dam-site observation point, the governor boasted that this new state water project would "correct an accident of people and geography."

The fact that Brown thought this historic rift between north and south was correctable said much about his view of the political process. When critics accused him of using the water plan as a way to sew up the Southern California vote in the 1962 campaign, he replied: "You have to believe me when I tell you that I only had the welfare of all the people of California at heart during the water plan campaign. I didn't do it for political gain."¹⁷

Indeed, during much of his first term Brown's legislative record was distinctly nonpartisan. A master plan for higher education, freeway construction program, substantial increases in the public school fund, tougher crime laws, reorganization of state departments, and the ending of election primary cross-filing all became law.

The Brown administration took an activist approach to many pressing problems of the fast-growing state. Among others, Brown backed bills to equip cars with smog control de-

vices, provide medical treatment for drug addicts, construct mass transit facilities, protect San Francisco Bay from excessive landfill, and capture 80 percent of tidelands oil revenues for the state. Nearly all of Brown's proposals to raise taxes were approved. And during his first two years in office the Democrat lost on only two major issues: the abolition of capital punishment and a \$1.25 minimum wage for workers exempt from federal coverage.

While the California Democratic Council was disappointed by these defeats, there was no doubt that the governor's astonishing series of legislative triumphs had rebuilt the credibility of his party. In less than ten years Pat Brown had taken his fellow Democrats out of the political wilderness and shaped them into a legislative streamroller. And while Brown may have drifted a bit to the right of the CDC majority, the fact remained that he had a good record on civil rights, fair housing, equal employment opportunity, and programs designed to assist the needy.

During that first term, Brown made only one major decision he would come to regret. Called on to

commute the death sentence of "Red Light Bandit" Caryl Chessman, Brown first granted a sixty-day reprieve in January 1960. That decision rankled many constituents, including those who booed him at the opening of the Squaw Valley Winter Olympics in February 1960. In May, with Chessman once again set to die, pleas for a last-minute stay poured in again from such diverse petitioners as Dr. Albert Schweitzer and Brown's son Jerry. This time Brown said no, and the convict went to the gas chamber.

Brown, who became a foe of capital punishment after leaving politics, confessed years later that if he'd had his way, he'd "have commuted him from capital punishment to life. After I gassed thirty-three of those poor bastards and was out of office, the Supreme Court decided they should not have been killed. Of course, it was *ex post facto*."¹⁸

Although Brown's vacillation on the Chessman case led to some kidding (such as the joke that the famed prisoner walked in and out of the gas chamber so many times they had to re-pave death row), the Democrat's first-term record was a good



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one. The state's booming economy gave his campaign for a second term an important boost. Although his opponent, former vice-president Richard Nixon, tried to imply that the incumbent was soft on Communism, that sales pitch flopped at the polls. A dozen years before Nixon would shoot himself in the foot over Watergate, Brown enjoyed the thrill of being the only politician ever to defeat Nixon.

Brown began his second term in 1963 with the same kind of confidence that had once buoyed Earl Warren. People in Sacramento were already talking about a third term for this Democrat who had humiliated Nixon and demonstrated remarkable legislative artistry.

Brown's brilliant staff was a not-so-secret weapon in his campaign to boost unemployment and workers' compensation benefits, create a consumer counsel's office, adopt a master plan for higher education, and build three new medical schools and

a half-dozen state colleges. Preble Stolz, a member of Brown's first legislative staff, found his boss had a "genius for inspiring loyalty. He was a good-government type who was interested in doing the right thing."¹⁹ This heartfelt sentiment was repeated over and over again by aides who spoke of the governor in almost worshipful terms.

Yet by the end of his sixth year in office, it was clear that Brown's era of good feeling was beginning to wane. The first major sign came at an unlikely site, the University of California at Berkeley, the alma mater of his wife Bernice, brother Frank, and son Jerry. State support of education was a cornerstone of Governor Brown's personal political philosophy. He was determined that California become the first state where "a young man or woman who has the ability can go from kindergarten through graduate school without paying one cent in tuition."

While he supported the university 100 percent, Brown also believed in those well-known companions, law and order. Like love and marriage, they were inseparable. All through his days as district attorney, he had

(Far left) In 1964, when students began the Free Speech protest at the University of California, Brown ordered police to break up sit-ins, resulting in the jailing of hundreds of students including leader Jack Weinberg (in car) for trespassing.

During a university Board of Regents meeting, Theodore Meyer, Governor Brown, University President Clark Kerr and Chancellor Roger Heyns (from left) discuss the need for a strong hand in settling a student strike.

worked overtime to quell racketeering, vice, drug peddling, pornography, and graft. Throughout his political life, Brown had never backed off from prosecuting a legitimate case. It didn't matter if the defendants were assemblymen fraudulently reselling liquor licenses or policemen staging lascivious stage shows in Yolo County. He did not look lightly on his sworn duty to uphold the law.

But in Berkeley, his responsible liberalism met a great test. A committed civil libertarian who had lobbied for fair housing and fair employment legislation, Brown was not unsympathetic to the goals of Berkeley students seeking free speech on campus. But in December 1964, when the students occupied Sproul Hall, he decided that however admirable their political goals, they did not justify obstructionist means. On his orders police charged in, dragged out, and arrested hundreds of students.

"We cannot compromise with revolution, whether at the University or any other place," explained the governor.²⁰ While this rhetorical response represented his effort to calm

his conservative critics, it did not placate them. Like the Chessman case, the disruptive Free Speech Movement cast doubt on Brown's ability to enforce the law aggressively. But here the issue was a broader one than the morality of capital punishment. Critics saw the Free Speech Movement as mob rule and argued that the governor could have broken up the rebellion earlier with immediate intervention. Brown, who had built his political career defending law and order, was now being portrayed as a softie. Again in 1965, the Watts riots led Republican critics to suggest that the governor had lost his ability to manage the state.

While conservatives blamed these disturbances on Brown's permissiveness, old friends at the California Democratic Council were also drifting away. At the 1966 CDC convention, he persuaded delegates to oust their chosen leader, Si Casady, for criticizing President Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policy. This struggle was not without cost to the governor, however, for it alienated many of his traditional supporters. Suddenly the great Democratic party unifier was being picketed by fellow Democrats carrying placards urging, "Upside Down with Brown."

Governor Brown seemed to be losing his sure touch for California politics. The same man who had been able to win Democratic and Republican nominations now had trouble controlling his own party. Worried about his chances for re-election, Brown supporters decided to try to undercut the leading candidate in the 1966 Republican gubernatorial primary, San Francisco mayor and dairy owner George Christopher.

They released to Washington columnist Drew Pearson a 25-year-old story about Christopher's technical arrest for breaking state laws regulating milk.²¹ Publication of this story dampened Christopher's aspirations and helped nominate his Republican opponent, Ronald Reagan. Although Hollywood was certainly a cornerstone of California's imaginative life, Brown felt his opponent was hardly the stuff of political melodrama. Their gubernatorial campaign came off as a kind of playoff between FDR and the Marlboro Man.

In his passionate, often eloquent speeches, Brown spoke of his remarkable legislative record. No matter where you looked in the state, from farmlands to universities, to beaches, parks, business centers, and freeways, Brown had helped improve the quality of life. Minorities, who had been red-lined out of certain neighborhoods and denied employment because of race, now could count on state law to obtain their constitutional rights. New programs had been initiated to assist the mentally ill, the disabled, and the unemployed. State government had been streamlined, thanks to his reorganization. But Reagan countered that these legislative accomplishments were undercut by a frightening moral decay. Crime in the streets of Watts and on the Berkeley campus were, in Reagan's view, the direct result of permissiveness in Sacramento.

This cry of a politician demanding an end to lawlessness was not unfamiliar to Brown. His own career had been launched in the great western tradition of the new sheriff riding in to clean up the town. But now Brown was being portrayed as part of



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the soft underbelly of moral decay. Government, Reagan claimed, had rejected man's spirituality and personal freedom in favor of social engineering. Instead of letting every man tend to his own needs, the state was taxing him and then using the money to pay for what it deemed best for California's citizenry. The California social millenium that Brown spoke of in his speeches was, according to Reagan, coming unglued. Attacked by the left for being too conservative on issues like Vietnam and by the right for being too lenient toward crime in the streets, Brown looked more and more like a dated period piece.

In November 1966, Reagan, who promised to clean up the mess at the University of California, put down rebellion in Watts, cut taxes, and reduce the public sector, beat Brown by nearly 993,000 votes. "To be frank," he conceded after it was over, "a majority of Californians were bored with me."

Although the Democrat spoke from time to time of trying



Republican Governor Earl Warren endorsed Democrat Brown's second attorney general campaign in 1954, giving a boost to Brown's career that took him to the governor's chair. Warren (left), photographed duck hunting with Brown in 1962 near Colusa, became U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice.

to make a comeback in a senatorial campaign, it was his son Jerry who reclaimed Sacramento for the family eight years later. Moving to Beverly Hills with his wife, the elder Brown practiced law, raised money for Jerry's campaigns, spoke, and remained active in Democratic party and CDC politics. A fixture in many Democratic campaigns, he remained a popular stump speaker and a welcome sight at political rallies.

Although he never fully recovered from his final defeat by Reagan, Brown enjoyed his role as the father figure of California politics. No gubernatorial or presidential campaign in California was complete without several swings by the elder Brown. As a concession to age, he curtailed his 1982 campaigning for his son's senatorial bid to six days a week. At times slowing down seemed like a good idea. "I really should retire," conceded lawyer Brown in 1982. "But every once in awhile I get an interesting case."²²

A lobbyist for such clients as American Trailways and Japanese banks, he also helped create the Edmund G. Brown Institute of Government Affairs in Beverly Hills for the study of public policy. This was

an appropriate forum for Brown to advance his own views of government. In his mind California was the ideal place for a politician to practice his art. Many of the accusations hurled at him by opponents—that he was a big spender, that he spent too much time trying to appease opposing sides, that he often shifted his viewpoint, that he believed government could and should bail out those who couldn't help themselves—were true. Philosophically Pat Brown remained optimistic about the ability of big government to do big things.

While his son and other politicians spoke of an era of limits, the elder Brown was dubious. His generation had pushed productivity to its outer limit, and the state that had become the nation's largest economic producer during his term of office couldn't turn back now. The California dream was only achievable to the extent that its citizenry was willing to pay for it.

Brown continued to preach this view wherever he went. Audiences across the state were eager to hear his message, and even in Beverly Hills exile, he remained one of the most fascinating stories in California

politics. His legislative accomplishments were many, and in an age of media hype and junk mail campaigning, his style was a delight. Personable, charming, funny, Brown remained very much the model of the old Irish pol. Perhaps what made him such a favorite was his loyalty to the people of California. Unlike his son, Reagan, Nixon, Cranston, Knowland, Warren and many other political leaders of his time, Brown had never made a serious effort to run for office beyond the boundaries of his native state.

Even those who disagreed with his vision for California never questioned his commitment to the state. As Brown himself once put it in a letter to his son: "People closest to me know that I really want to accomplish things and that I am not too much afraid of people I think are wrong." It was a philosophy worthy of the man who believed California was not a stepping stone but an end in itself.²³ □ (See page 73 for notes.)

This article is one of a series made possible by a generous grant from Mrs. LeRoy F. Krusi in memory of her husband, a former California Historical Society trustee.

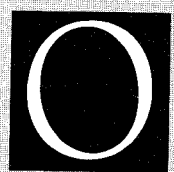


SHANGHAIED!

The Systematic Kidnapping
of Sailors
in Early San Francisco

by Lance S. Davidson

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



One of the blackest chapters in the history of San Francisco involved the nefarious practice of "shanghaiing." Shanghaiing—the kidnapping of sailors to man short-handed ships—flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century in San Francisco although it had debased merchant shipping in United States ports for more than a century. Along both coasts of the United States shanghaiing was common, but it was most prevalent in the Barbary Coast area of San Francisco's waterfront.

This flagrant violation of fundamental civil liberties was practiced without legal restraint for over a century. As members of a migratory class unable to vote for protective legislation, sailors formed a classic lost constituency in a democracy. Only after they organized as a group following the turn of the century did the laws of the United States accord them the full rights of other citizens, primarily by protecting seamen from shanghaiing and from the conditions giving rise to it.

In the late 1800s the calling of the merchant marine had fallen into disrepute. From what had been in colonial days America's "first and finest employ," seafarers became classed with criminals and prostitutes. Tremendous progress had been made in shipbuilding, with the construction of efficient and graceful China and California clippers and steam vessels, yet harsh punishment of sailors and intolerable living conditions aboard ship caused a severe scarcity of native Americans shipping out, despite the United States Congress' abolition of flogging in 1850. Mistreatment of sailors by ships' officers was sanctioned by the courts as appropriate for maintaining discipline at sea. Under federal statute from 1835 until 1898 and founded on the seminal case of *Butler v. McClellan* of 1806, brutal oppression, including beating, starvation, and imprisonment, was in effect authorized if the ship's master believed it reasonably justified.¹

The sailors' quarters in a ship's forecabin ("fo'c's'le") offered little refuge. Located below the water-line, they were poorly ventilated and cramped, stinking of sweat-rotted clothing and urine, floors slick with spittle and tobacco juice. Malnourished from eating the cheapest grade of salted beef and weevil-infested sea biscuit and inadequately dressed in clothing often soaked with salt

Migratory and unorganized, sailors like these men of the Derbyshire (photograph c. 1883) suffered extremely harsh living and employment conditions until protective legislation ended shanghaiing.

spray, seamen fell sick with consumption and scurvy. The latter resulted from a common vitamin deficiency which caused rotten gums (from which teeth snapped out), easily bruised flesh, swollen joints, emaciation, hair loss, sores, and bleeding. The sailor's lot provoked a shocked surgeon in a U.S. Marine Hospital in 1874 to declare:

No prison, certainly none of modern days, [is] so wretched but life within its walls is preferable, on the score of physical comfort, to the quarters and the life of the sailor on the vast majority of merchant vessels.²

Finally, sailors were driven hard in order to compensate for the reduced efficiency resulting from their physical and mental degradation, as well as for the chronic shortage of hands on ships caused by captains who sought to reduce their overhead costs.

Finding it impossible to recruit enough competent American seamen in the open market—particularly during the Gold Rush when crews jumped ship in San Francisco—ship masters resorted to shanghaiing their crews. The derivation of the term "shanghaiing" may date to early sailing days when no ship sailed directly between Shanghai and San Francisco, and a voyager wishing to travel from one port to the other had to sail around the world to reach his destination. Hence a ship starting a long, hazardous voyage was said to be making a "Shanghai voyage," and the luckless sailor forcibly impressed into a vessel's crew was "shanghaied."

Throughout the nineteenth century, the specter of shanghaiing haunted every port and ship plying the high seas:

The tales of the forecabin are replete with the names of iniquitous parasites who achieved international reputations as masters of the shanghaiing business. What sailor never heard of "Scar Face" Johnson, Paddy West, or "Shanghai" Brown?

The shanghaied victim is always either enticed on board under some mental delusion not to be realized, or else driven on board by some physical force not to be resisted. A dead body was once carried on board an outward-bound ship at the port of New York and deposited in a bunk in the forecabin under the pretense that it was a drunken sailor, and three months' advance was collected for the "stiff." On another occasion, a minister was enticed out to a ship in a small boat and shanghaied on the pretext that a dying man on board wanted the consolation of religion. As the unsuspecting dominic was clambering precariously up the rope ladder to the rail, the ship was already under way in the stream, and

NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM



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CHS, SAN FRANCISCO



As early as 1852, twenty-three shanghaiing gangs operated on San Francisco's waterfront.

*the crimp shouted to the skipper from the stern sheets of the wherry, already dropping astern: "That's a good man goin' up now, Cap'n. Take good care o' im."*³

The "crimp," or shipping master, a man who made his living by furnishing ships with crews, enticed seamen by offering them a good time while in port. Often the crimp had one or more boarding houses which provided lodging and other services to a "Jack." In the boarding master's employ were "runners" whose principal duty was to bring seamen into the boarding house. A ship could remain anchored a mile from shore for several weeks before arriving alongside the wharves to discharge its cargo, and thus its crew members were trapped on ship unless runners picked them up. Most seamen who succumbed to the blows or enticements of the runners were taken immediately to boarding houses, although occasionally the crew of a newly-arrived foreign vessel was driven over the ship's side while stupefied with drugged liquor and carried aboard a seabound vessel without putting their feet on dry land.

The work of a runner normally ended once a sailor crossed the threshold of the boarding house; thereafter he was handled by the crimp or his retainers. The sailor's bag containing his few worldly possessions was taken as soon as he arrived. Directed to a bunk, he was plied with as much cheap liquor as he could drink. The standard concoction of whiskey, brandy, gin, and opium reportedly could knock a man out for days. A sailor might be robbed and hustled off to sea the very next morning aboard the first out-bound vessel, or instead have the dubious fortune to remain in the boardinghouse until his senses and hard-earned wages completely left him.

As early as 1852, twenty-three shanghaiing gangs

operated on San Francisco's waterfront. On San Francisco Bay professional boatmen who rowed large skiffs, called Whitehall boats, taxied pilots, officers, and sailors to and from the anchored vessels. Whenever an incoming vessel was reported outside the Golden Gate, Whitehall boats could be seen streaming from the waterfront. The boatmen's best customers were runners, up to a half-dozen attached to each boardinghouse. Competition for customers was fierce, for a runner received a commission for each sailor he enlisted to desert ship and accompany him to a boardinghouse:

*The [runners] swarm over the rail like pirates and virtually take possession of the deck. The crew are shoved into the runner's boats, and the vessel is often left in a perilous situation, with none to manage her, the sails unfurled, and she is liable to drift afoul of the shipping at anchor. In some cases, not a man has been left aboard in half an hour after the anchor has been dropped.*⁴

According to the runners' credo, any sailor was fair game until he was actually in a boat or he had named his crimp, whereupon he was disregarded by the other runners.

Not surprisingly, the waterfront along the eastern and northeastern fringes of the Barbary Coast was regarded as one of the city's most dangerous areas. In addition to the policeman's nightstick and pistol, officers assigned to waterfront duty sported a foot-long knife, notable for having been used by embattled police to chop off the hands of their assailants.

Within the waterfront's myriad alleys and streets packed with saloons, brothels, and boardinghouses, countless traps awaited unwary seamen on shore leave. Many establishments, originally warehouses built on wooden pilings extending into the bay, contained "dead-falls" through which shanghaiied sailors were shoved into rowboats waiting below.

Sailors often traveled from their shoreside quarters South of Market to the uptown dives and bagnios of the Barbary Coast for entertainment, especially after the *California Police Gazette* alerted the public to the "strychnine whiskey" used by the South of Market bars to snare their prey for the shanghaiing trade.⁵ Pity the hapless sailor who awoke days later shanghaiied aboard an ocean-going vessel. An unusual second-hand account of being shanghaiied out of San Francisco around 1874-1876, suggesting some of its unexpected consequences, appears in a letter written about the seafaring father of William Davis:

Within the waterfront's myriad alleys and streets packed with saloons, brothels, and boardinghouses, countless traps awaited unwary seamen on shore leave. In this 1851 photograph, crewless ships crowd the San Francisco shoreline.

Originally warehouses built on pilings in the bay, many Barbary Coast establishments (photograph c. 1865) contained "dead-falls" through which shanghaiied sailors were shoved into row boats waiting below.

Lacking family and permanent homes, sailors frequented saloons and bordellos, spent their wages, and concluded their shore leave deeply in debt to saloon and boardinghouse operators.

Lance S. Davidson is an attorney and real estate broker with Amterra Partners Ltd. in Mill Valley.

CESSPOOLS OF INDECENCY ON THE BARBARY COAST

Resorts Where the Most Degenerate Frequent and Hold High Revel.

NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM



NOT often in a big city do vice, degeneracy and sin flourish within the shadows of a Hall of Justice. Close to the new municipal building on the corner of Kearney and Washington streets are a run of cheap resorts (the resorts). They are undecorated, but have which cover but cannot exhibitions, the abundance and the sweep that goes on in them, by police interference. This is the Barbary Coast by men and women of the social scale. In women who no longer place in the community of these dives. Some a entertainment of such character that even the rare patron drops into a But the show is not a variety, such as the M. Sears, who Keeney but a polished, sophisticated, and a mind behind a women who have made money for many years from their life with the indecent exhibitions are



NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM

South of Market bars used “strychnine whiskey” to snare their prey.

*[He] left us [in Vallejo] to go to San Francisco to look for work around the water front and the sailors boarding houses and saloons and was drinking, so a ship was bound out for Europe and they were short of carpenters. So they shanghaied him drunk and loaded him on the ship and when he sobered up they were 6 days out on the ocean bound for Cape Horn as in those days there was no Panama Canal. So we were left and never knew where he was . . . Grandpa Davis shows up after 9 or more years . . . and told his story of his wanderings. How they shanghaied him, how the [vessel] was shipwrecked in the Bay of Biscay off the coast of Spain, how he was picked up by a ship bound for Malaga, Spain. How he sailed for England, then to Canada and to California looking for us, then to Logan and found us but Grandma would not take him in so he left . . .*⁶

Among the most brazen of the Barbary Coast crimps was Michael Connor. Famous in the early 1880s for his skill in furnishing complete crews at a moment's notice, Connor ran a saloon and boardinghouse in the Barbary Coast. When hundreds of crewless vessels were anchored in the bay in 1882, Connor instituted “blood money” tactics. He dispatched runners to round up available mariners and bring them to his saloon where they were plied with liquor and rowed out to waiting vessels. Probably the most notorious shanghaiers, John Devine, alias “The Shanghai Chicken,” was hanged for the murder of August Kamp in 1873. Various credited with a dozen murders and seventy-nine arrests in six years, Devine, who lost his left hand in a Barbary Coast knife brawl in 1868, achieved further infamy from participating in a bare-knuckle 143-round prizefight at Point Isabel in 1864.⁷

Another arrant crimp, Shanghai Johnson, specialized in kidnapping whalers and suffered a fittingly watery fate: his body was found floating in the bay shortly after he had delivered an incapacitated seaman to a ship off Alcatraz Island. Throughout the 1860s the annual City Directory's weekly chronicle of events carried

entries such as: “The body of an unknown man was found floating near India Dock . . .”⁸

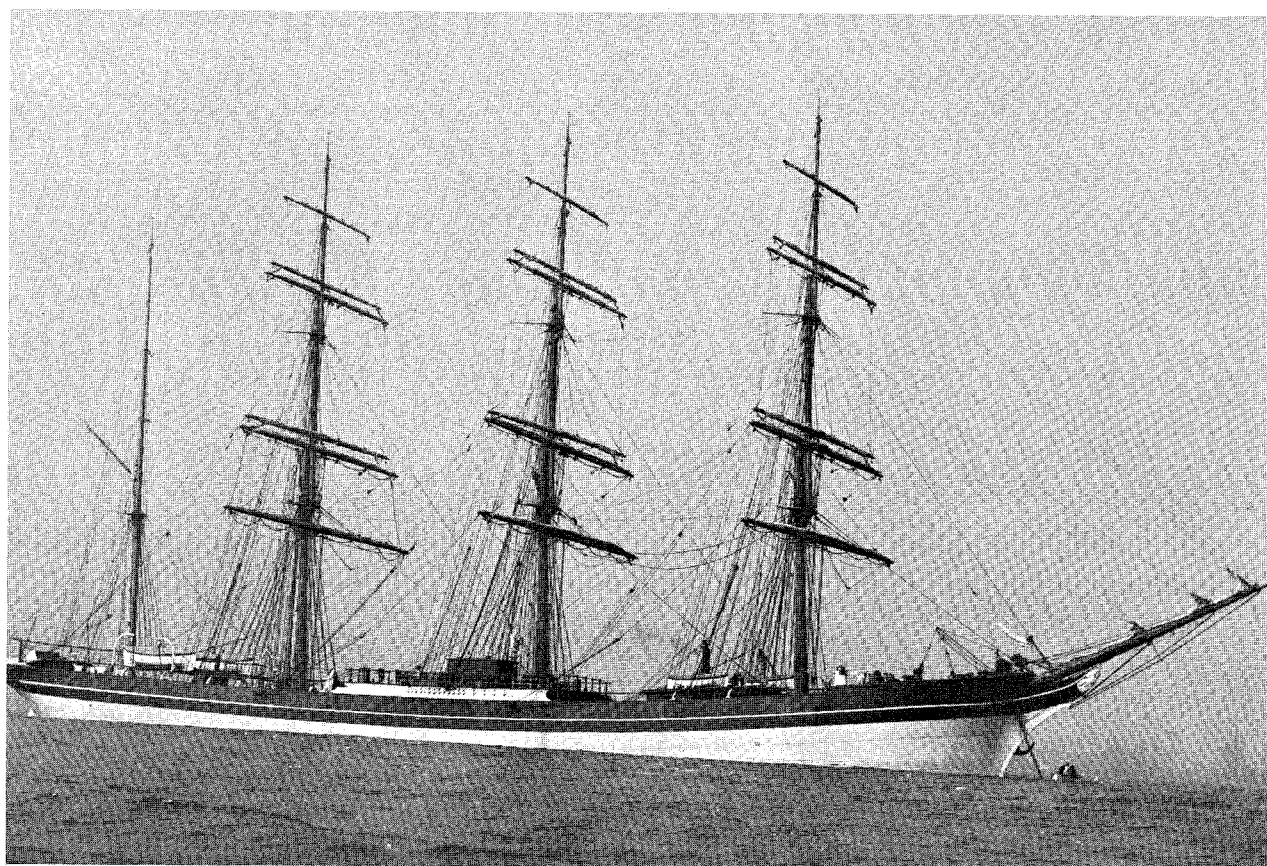
Shanghaiing proved to be a very lucrative enterprise for the boardinghouse masters and saloonkeepers of the Barbary Coast. Some grossed as much as \$50,000 annually after paying their runners up to \$500 each week.⁹ Many San Francisco political bosses were known to be in league with them, Boss Ruef and Chris Buckley, for instance, ensuring the non-enforcement of a municipal ordinance imposing a \$500 fine on anyone boarding a vessel without the captain's permission. As the *San Francisco Times* noted in 1861, “Certain interested parties” admonished shipmasters not to interfere with the bay's runners, else their ships would be denied crews when ready to sail. Means of harassment to obtain cooperation included fabricated charges of “trash on deck” and “throwing garbage overside,” setting fires below deck, boring auger holes below waterline, and unshackling anchor cable.

Bold San Francisco crimps monopolized the local sailor market by organizing themselves into associations. They secured control of the seamen's employment future by virtue of laws which authorized the holding of a sailors' clothing and advance wages as collateral for debt. By rule of the Port of San Francisco, all seamen shipping through crimps were required to leave behind two months' pay. Departing sailors frequently had spent their earnings from the incoming voyage, and by an advance or allotment note, they mortgaged a large part of their outgoing wages to the crimps. By 1894, American sailors were reportedly signing away their wages in allotments at a rate of 15,503 notes per year,¹⁰ only a handful of which (732) went to relatives.

If seamen happened to be unseasonably plentiful, crimps purchased from shipping masters the exclusive privilege of supplying crew. Because seamen were usually in scarce supply, however, only through the crimps could a shipping master obtain a crew for his ship, and then only after paying them the sailors' advance pay. This practice—known as “blood money” because men were frequently beaten senseless when shanghaied—was self-perpetuating. Instead of raising wages to seamen when they were in demand, blood money and shanghaiings, often of nonseaworthy landsmen, increased. The resulting harsh treatment aboard ship necessary to mold a crew drove even more good seamen away from the seas. That only ten percent of the typical

Good San Francisco citizens decried Barbary Coast vice, but proved ineffective in combatting it.

Barbary Coast girls, some immodestly posing with unplaited hair, welcomed lonely sailors—and took their money.



American vessel's crew around 1900 was American no doubt testifies to the squalor of sailor life.

Sailors were virtual slaves in perpetual poverty, laboring under subhuman conditions to work off debts attached to their future wages. Since they could not collect their wages, aside from two to four months' advance pay, until their ship completed its voyage, which lasted anywhere from four months to four years, and since sailors who failed to complete the voyage would forfeit the entire accrued amount, captains had a strong incentive to induce sailors to desert ship. Consequently, ships sometimes harboring for months in San Francisco Bay welcomed aboard runners who lured "deserting" sailors to shore. Seamen waiting on the bay usually deserted within a few days, making easy prey for the crimps with whom the captain had often made previous arrangements. Ironically, sailors would sometimes find themselves aboard the vessel they had just left, occasionally within hours, unable to collect wages earned from the previous voyage and indebted to crimps for two months' advance pay for the outgoing voyage.

Official attempts to improve the seamen's lot by controlling the crimping system, the heart of shanghaiing operations, were repeatedly unsuccessful. In 1872, for example, crimps successfully boycotted and paralyzed the industry when a Shipping Com-

Ships harboring for months in San Francisco Bay welcomed aboard runners who lured sailors to shore. Desertion meant that the men were unable to collect wages from their previous voyage.

missioner's Act prescribed that only sober seamen could sign agreements to ship out in a crew. Crimps subsequently circumvented the law by paying a few sober seamen to register again and again, signing the names of different unfortunate brethren. An 1879 resolution by several San Francisco shipowners to end the payment of blood money to crimps was defeated by a crimp boycott.

The federal Dingley Shipping Act of 1884 struck at the crimping system by prohibiting the payment of advance wages to crimps and by limiting (to near and dependent relatives) the "voluntary" allotments whereby a sailor could transfer his right to future payment. Unfortunately, the law underestimated the economic power of the crimps, and two years later Congress amended the act,¹¹ extending the class of allotment beneficiaries from near and dependent relatives to "original creditors" which included, of course, the crimps.

In 1885, in response to news of a substantial industry-wide wage reduction, sailors united to form the Coast Seamen's Union (later the Sailor's Union of the Pacific). The men immediately went out on strike, forcing the owners to make concessions. Buoyed by this success

Seamen had no legal rights recognized by anyone, including governmental authorities.

union leaders pressed Congress to reenact the prohibition against pay advances and sailors' allotments, utilizing union vigilance for enforcement. Various efforts to unite the independent labor organizations scattered along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts also strengthened the reform movement and culminated in 1892 when the National Seamen's Union of America, renamed later the International Seamen's Union of America, formed.

The Seamen's Union fought to bring about the enactment of the Maguire Act of 1895, which although limited to seamen in the coastal trade, abolished imprisonment for desertion, the payment of allotments, and the attachment of sailors' clothing. Seamen had scarcely stopped rejoicing over their victory in breaking the crimps' stranglehold over their trade, however, when the United States Supreme Court rendered its infamous decision in *Robertson v Baldwin*.¹² Relying on the Maguire Act's provisions for the seamen's right to quit his vessel, several sailors who were dissatisfied with conditions aboard the *Arago* refused to continue on its voyage, and they were promptly arrested and imprisoned. Hearing the case, the court strictly construed the Maguire Act as inapplicable to their situation since the *Arago's* coastwise voyage was only a leg of a foreign voyage. The court further held that the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibiting involuntary servitude did not protect seamen because of the special nature of their calling and because they had voluntarily signed the shipping articles specifying contractual conditions of employment. The *Arago* case in one stroke vitiated the sailors' hard-won political gains. The crimps, for their part, had not remained idle, having reinstituted an advance payment system by forcing shipowners to pay crimps the sailors' entire allotments although they had not yet fully earned them.

In the late 1890s seamen redoubled their efforts for remedial legislation, resulting in the passage of the White Act in 1898. Principally, it reduced the penalty for desertion and limited the amount of a seaman's wages that could be allotted to an "original creditor" in the foreign trade. The new law also improved the deplorable shipboard working conditions by abolishing corporal punishment, by entitling crews to determine a vessel's seaworthiness before a voyage, and by establishing standards for rations and quarters. The crimps proved equal to the threat of receiving lesser allotments and generally ignored or maneuvered around the new

federal statute by means of illegal advances, "shipping fees," and "bonuses."

Undaunted, the Seamen's Union spearheaded by Andrew Furuseth continued its campaign to reform maritime legislation. Finally, in 1906, Congress passed an act prohibiting shanghaiing and making crimping a misdemeanor punishable by heavy fines and even imprisonment.¹³ When abuses continued nonetheless, it became clear that a revision of the entire maritime code was necessary.

In April 1912, the *Titanic* disaster in the Atlantic inflamed public sentiment for improving safety at sea, and politicians mindful of the election year capitalized on this suddenly popular issue by proposing legislation to reform the nation's merchant marine. The La Follette Seamen's Act of 1915 represented the triumph for which the seamen had been working. The Seamen's Act greatly improved the quality of facilities and provisions aboard ship, minimized penalties for desertion, and abolished allotments to "original creditors."

There is no record, of course, of the number of sailors who were shanghaiied out of San Francisco and other ports, but the annual turnover must have been several thousand. During the 1890s it was estimated that between 800 and 1100 British seamen alone deserted their ships each year and were immediately shanghaiied by crimps.¹⁴ Not every seaman who sailed through the Golden Gate fell victim to the crimps and their runners, of course: many voluntarily returned to their ships after shore leave expired, many deserted on their own accord and contacted the crimps when they were ready to ship out again, and many ended their voyage at San Francisco.

That it was possible for shanghaiing to thrive for so many years can be partially explained by the sailors' reluctance to admit that they had been duped by crimps, the difficulty in obtaining witnesses after a lengthy voyage, and the fear of reprisal from the powerful shanghaiing fraternity. More importantly, however, seamen had no legal rights recognized by anyone, including governmental authorities. Effectively disfranchised and unable to participate in the voting process because of their lives at sea, sailors were regularly victimized until just seventy-five years ago. Only after sailors organized to form a recognized political constituency did the institution of shanghaiing, and the conditions aboard ship fostering its development, become a relic of the past. □

(See page 73 for notes.)



Oakland artist William Weaver Armstrong, who frequently signed his oil paintings. "WW. Armstrong," painted diffused romantic-realist canvases such as "Santa Cruz Redwoods."

In the annals of American art, there are many artists who share the same name. This has often led to confused biographical information and, worse, incorrect attribution of artistic works. The case of the two W.W. Armstrongs is particularly fascinating, for even the existence of the second artist by that name had eluded art historians. William Wallace Armstrong (1822–1915) of Toronto, Canada, has long been identified as a competent painter of Great Lakes and, erroneously, California landscapes. Many nineteenth-century landscapes of California held by the Smithsonian Institution, Oakland Museum, Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, and other leading national institutions have been inaccurately attributed to this Canadian artist and must rightfully be credited to another W.W. Armstrong, William Weaver Armstrong of Oakland. Born in 1862, William Weaver Armstrong painted in obscurity and only now has been discovered as a California landscapist. He worked roughly contemporaneously with his better-known Canadian counterpart, but the latter painter's peak artistic activity appears to have been in the 1860s and 1870s.

A comparison of the signatures of the two artists shows distinctly different treatment of their nearly identical names. The Canadian often signed his works simply "Armstrong" or "W. Armstrong" and occasionally used a monogram made up of superimposed letters "W" and "A." As seen on paintings held by the Oakland artist's family, the second W.W. Armstrong invariably printed his signature in a loose block style. A check of all biographical

DISCOVERING A NEW CALIFORNIA PAINTER

Oakland's W.W. Armstrong emerges from obscurity to claim his California landscape paintings

by Edan M. Hughes

sources for nineteenth-century painters reveals no documented evidence that the Canadian painter ever traveled in California or that the Oakland painter ever left his adopted state. Finally, the Canadian painter worked almost exclusively in pastels and watercolors, painting detailed scenes of the railway activities and various Indian tribes in his area, while the Californian worked exclusively in oils, developing a more diffused, romantic-realist style. Both artists' works are relatively unsophisticated and lack the painterly styles of their academy-trained contemporaries.

While the Toronto-based painter drew his subjects from the Great Lakes region, the American Armstrong was strongly influenced by the American westward movement. His parents numbered among the many dissatisfied easterners attracted to California after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. New Yorkers Bradley Adan Armstrong (1818–1904) and Mary Weaver, parents of six sons and a daughter, arrived in California about 1874. The elder Armstrong established a shop near the corner of Broadway and Fourteenth streets in Oakland. The small shop, which sold handcrafted frames, served as an art gallery where he exhibited his paintings and those by local artists. He also provided sign and carriage-painting services and was in demand as an auctioneer. Whatever formal training Bradley may have

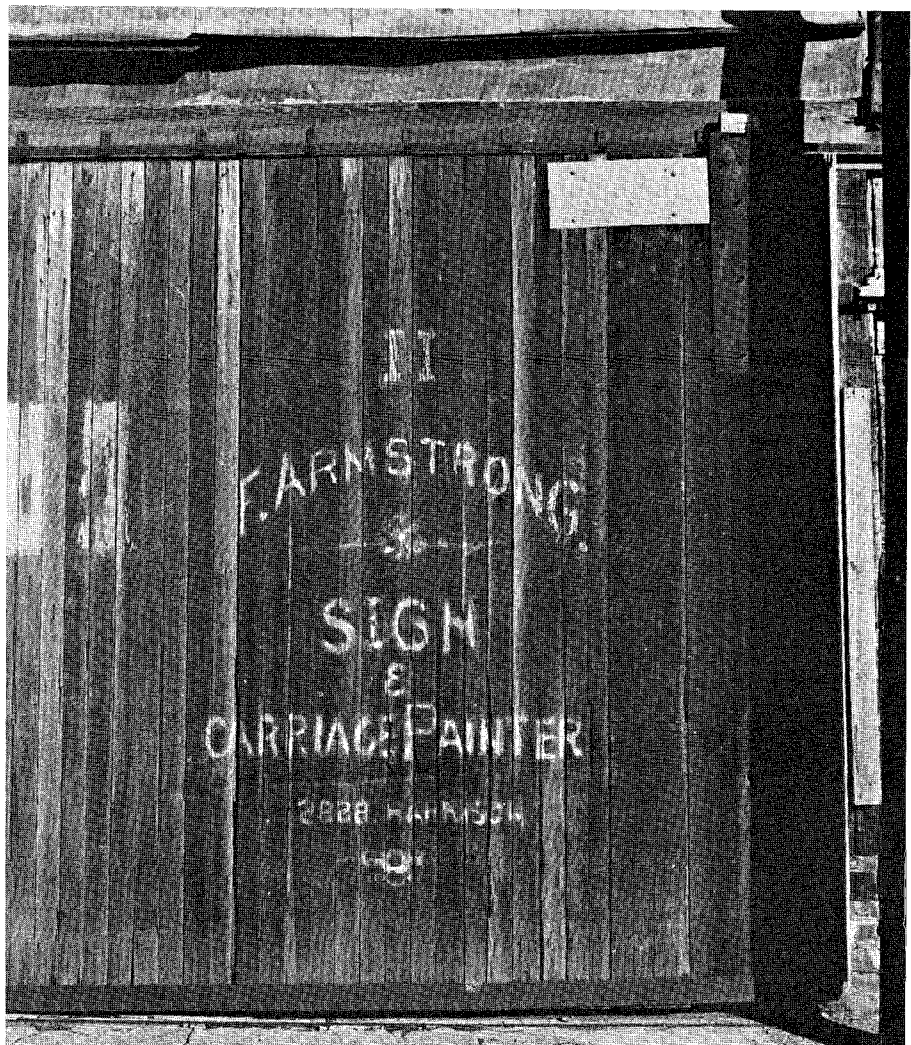
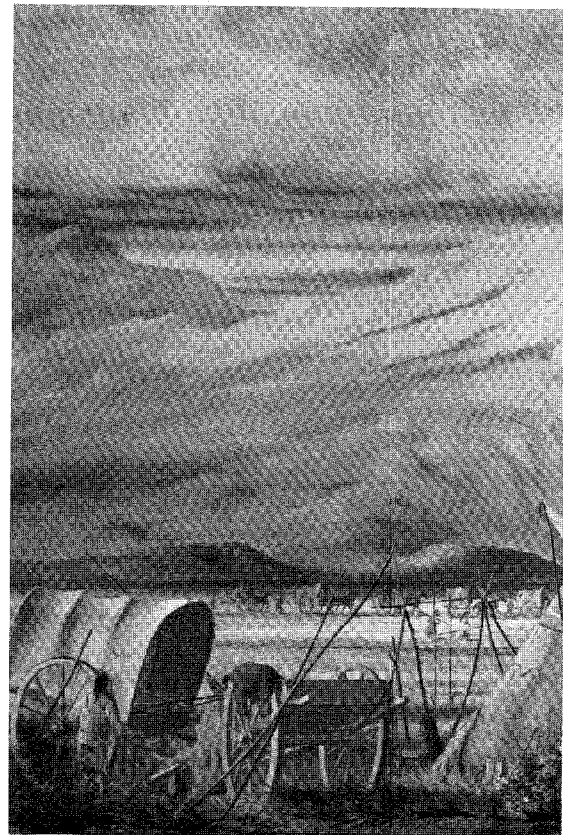
Edan M. Hughes discovered the existence of the second W.W. Armstrong while doing research for his book, *Artists in California: 1786–1940*, to be released in Spring 1985.

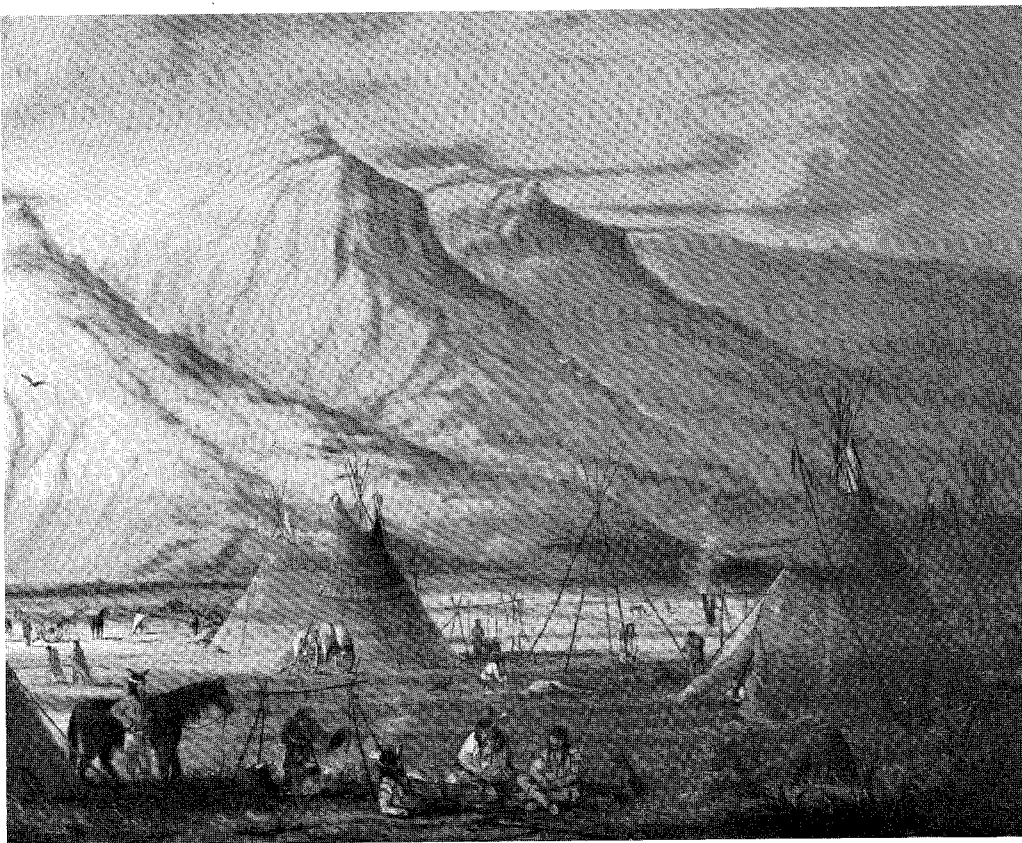
Canadian William Wallace Armstrong sketched Great Lakes and Northern Plains scenes such as this pastel, "Northern Cheyenne or Sioux Encampment."

(Lower right) The Canadian artist often signed his works, many of which date to the 1860s and 1870s, "Armstrong" or "W. Armstrong." Signature from "Niagara Gorge Railway" (watercolor), Amon Carter Museum

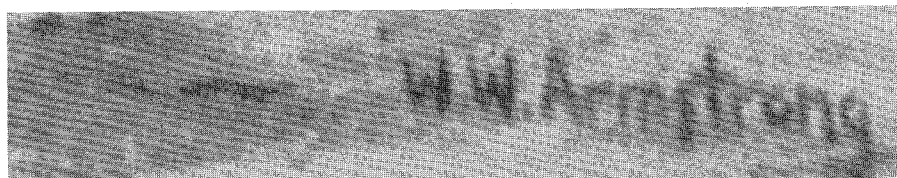
(Bottom right) William Weaver Armstrong's signature from California painting, "Santa Cruz Redwoods."

(Below) A fading reminder of the artistic Armstrong family is a still visible sign in San Francisco's Mission District.





AMON CARTER MUSEUM



had is unknown; however, he taught at least three of his sons to paint and became a popular and accomplished landscape painter of Mount Shasta, Yosemite, Mount Lassen, and other Northern California scenic spots. Today his works are rare, held mainly by family members and private collectors. Bradley Armstrong died at the family home at Twenty-eighth and Myrtle streets in Oakland on February 17, 1904.

One of Bradley's sons, Edward, is known only by an advertisement in the Oakland City Directory of 1880 as a sign and carriage painter. He apparently did not paint fine art.

The story of Bradley's eldest son, George Frederick Armstrong (1852-1912), is by comparison well documented. Fred, as he was called, was

active in civic affairs and a charter member of the Oakland Guards and was known throughout Northern California. About 1889 he moved across the bay to San Francisco and settled in the Mission District in a small cottage at 2828 Harrison Street. A handsome man with a fine singing voice, he always found an extra dollar in the family teapot for his children's piano and music lessons. During the 1890s Fred was commissioned by A.W. Foster, president of the Northwestern Pacific Railroad, to paint scenes of Lake County resorts. These paintings hung for several years in San Francisco's Ferry Building. Fred also painted many landscapes of Yosemite, murals for San Francisco homes, and scenes of Italian milk

wagons and gypsy vans in San Francisco. A lung ailment caused by his long work with oil paint and turpentine preceded his death on August 5, 1912. Today, in a small alley named Balmy in the Mission District, a dilapidated barn which was once Fred's workshop still boasts the sign, "F. Armstrong, Sign and Carriage Painter."

The other artist in the Oakland Armstrong family, William Weaver, has managed to remain nearly anonymous. Born in Ontario, New York, his art training appears to have been solely from his father. First listed in the Oakland City Directory in 1884 as a farmer at 509 East Fourteenth Street, William changed his listing to "Artist" by 1887. According to family members, he was a quiet, taciturn man with little interest in socializing; he preferred to roam and sketch the California countryside. A prolific artist during his short life, he painted hundreds of landscapes of Northern California from Santa Cruz to the Oregon border. Often gone from his Oakland studio for months at a time, he made many trips into the wilderness of his adopted state. After one of these sketching expeditions, he returned with an Indian bride named Grace, much to the consternation of his parents. Very little was seen of the couple after their marriage. A victim of tuberculosis, William Weaver Armstrong died in Oakland on November 26, 1906, at age forty-four. Pulled back from obscurity, he lives on in the many paintings in major national collections attributed to the other W.W. Armstrong. □

by Tom Zimmerman

PARADISE BOOSTERISM AND THE LOS AN

Flying into Los Angeles International Airport at night, planes descend over the mountains east of San Bernardino and gradually settle into their glide path. The Los Angeles Basin spreads out west to the sea, and from the Santa Monica Mountains in the north to the Palos Verdes Peninsula in the south in a carpet of lights. Houses, stores, street lights, and moving cars on freeways create rivers, islands, and outposts of light which draw the attention of even the most blasé traveler.

The spectacle below is the result of the most single minded promotion of a city ever to occur in the United States. Beginning as early as the 1860s, two generations of city boosters, buttressed only by a pleasant climate, determinedly ignored the city's small population, its squat, functional buildings, its dirt streets, and its non-existent cultural life as they "sold" the city to the world. By the time this civic boosterism waned in the 1930s, Los Angeles had become the fourth largest urban area in America, leading the nation in agriculture, motion pictures, and aircraft production.

Several conditions nurtured this growth. The drought of the 1860s, which destroyed Los Angeles County's cattle industry and led to the break up of huge ranchos, started Los Angeles on its new urban course. Speculators eagerly purchased thousands of acres of land that came up for sale, knowing that if they were eventually to make profits, customers and social stability were necessary. The first Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce failed after four years, but its better

How the nation's longest and most successful public relations campaign made Los Angeles a world-class city



PROMOTED GELES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE



Professional boosters put Los Angeles on the map beginning in the 1870s, and Chamber of Commerce photographers helped make the city famous for its beautiful girls and pseudo-events, such as Market Week.

organized successor, founded in 1888, took as its chief task providing both. Not only did it lure people over the enormous distances that separated Los Angeles from the rest of the country, but it made certain there were jobs and city services for them when they arrived.

Evidencing no desire to duplicate either the skylines or social problems of eastern cities, the new Chamber aimed most of its promotional literature and activity at the middle of the United States, giving only secondary attention to the Northeast and South and hardly a nod to foreign countries. The city's 150-foot building height limitation was enacted in 1905 not because of earthquake threats but because Los Angeles' leaders wanted to ensure a low-density city. Open-shop agitation was interpreted not only as a boon to owners of businesses but as a way of lessening political tensions inevitably arising from labor union activities.²

The primary hook for promoting the development of Los Angeles, however, was the climate. As Chamber President Maynard McFie reflected in 1921, "God had certainly wished on us in Southern California climate, but it has taken men of vision to capitalize on it."³

Given the modern city's famous problems with smog, it is ironic that Los Angeles' earliest promoters were sanitarium owners who portrayed the area as one vast health spa. Comprehension of the causes and proper treatment of the various lung diseases called "consumption" in the nineteenth century was slim,

and one of the only known cures was to send patients who could financially afford it to a warm, dry climate. While the best known spas were in the south of Europe, doctors such as Robert Speir advised patients in 1873 to consider going to Southern California, "the Italy of America," before hurrying "your consumptive friend off to tramp over the well-worn tracks of the old world."⁴

By the time Speir's book appeared, Southern California's sanatorium business was booming, and the movement west by thousands of health seekers continued unabated until the end of the century. Some who found health in the area's gentle climate, Charles Dwight Willard, Charles F. Lummis, and Frank Wiggins, for example, went on to become leaders in Los Angeles' promotional campaign. Other cured visitors returned home and served as walking advertisements for the healthful California climates.

Widely read books, including Charles Nordhoff's *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence* and Benjamin Truman's *Semi-Tropical California*, both published within a decade of Lee's surrender at Appomattox, further promoted the healthful, even paradisaical nature of Southern California. Truman himself settled in Los Angeles and eventually wrote booster literature for the Southern Pacific Railroad, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the Chamber of Commerce.

By the turn of the century, this phase of boosterism by health seekers had run its course. As healthy people flocked to Southern California to take advantage of the boom,

significantly less effort was expended to recruit the sick. In addition, expanding medical knowledge made it unnecessary for tuberculars to go west for treatment.

The first focused and concentrated promotion of California came from the Southern Pacific Railroad, which was incorporated in 1870. As successor to the Central Pacific, the Southern Pacific sought to entice emigrants to begin buying the millions of acres of land granted to the company by local and federal government as inducement for laying track for the recently completed transcontinental railroad.

The railroad's promotional campaign was already several years old by the time a second golden spike was driven near Lang on September 6, 1876, linking Los Angeles to San Francisco and the rest of the country by rail. Most of the railroad's literature emerged from the fertile mind of its land agent, Jerome Madden, whose most popular works were *The Lands of the Southern Pacific* and *California: Its Attractions for the Invalid, Tourist, Capitalist, and Homemaker*. Madden stressed the state's climate, its plentiful, fertile, and cheap agricultural land, and the ease of reaching California on the Southern Pacific.⁷

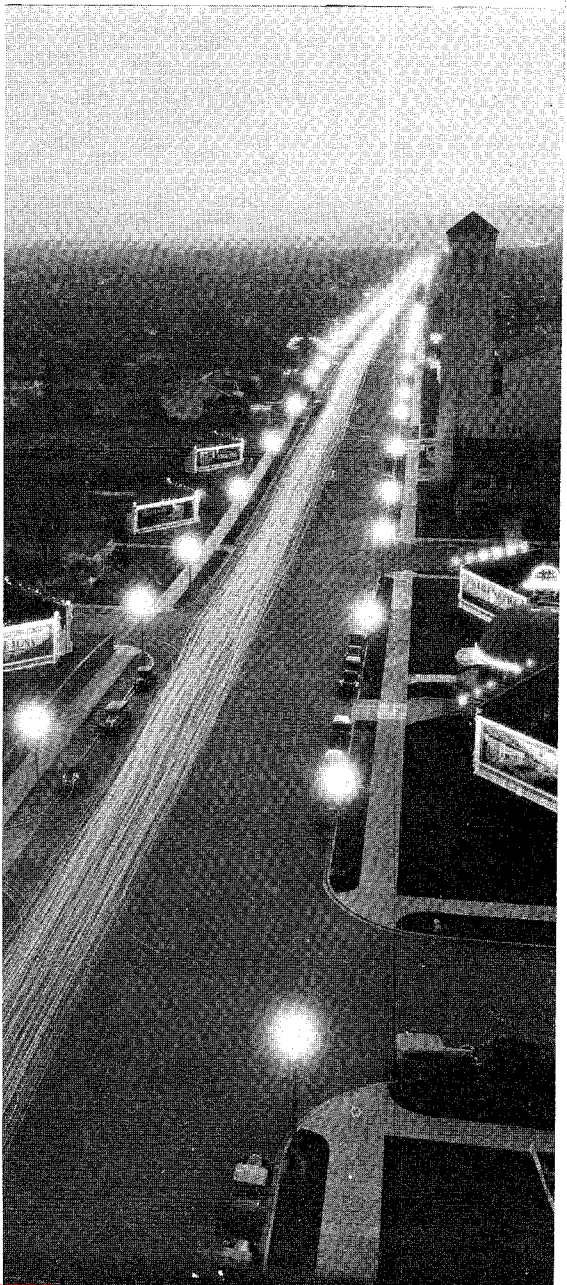
One drawback to this activity from Los Angeles' point of view was that the Southern Pacific, like the California Immigrant Union and the Pacific Coast Land Bureau, was headquartered in the much larger and more

established city of San Francisco. As a result, Southern California was always a poor relation in the Southern Pacific's promotional work for its national land holdings. If Los Angeles was to occupy center stage, it would need to develop its own booster network.⁹

The first Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, started in 1873, lasted only four years. The depression sweeping California and the nation in the 1870s led to the failure of so many local banks and businesses that the Chamber no longer had enough subscribers to remain active. During this brief span, however, the organization managed to publish and distribute 5000 copies of *Condition, Progress, and Advantages of Los Angeles City and County, Southern California* by A.T. Hawley, a local newsman. In common with the railroad publications, the pamphlet described the ease of transportation into the area by train and exhibited a general bias toward agriculture as the best way of life in Southern California. All the publication's emphasis was placed south of the Tehachapi Mountains, where "the climate is essentially that of the northern part of the state but robbed of its cold winds and grown softer and milder." *Condition, Progress and Advantages* further urged people to move quickly to what promised to be a major city in the near future.¹⁰

But growth came very gradually in Los Angeles, and even the unprecedented land boom of 1885-1887 ended with about 1000 people leaving the city each month. This net decrease in population alarmed business leaders who wrote: "At this critical moment in the city's history,

Tom Zimmerman is a native of Los Angeles. He is a photographic consultant with the CHS History Center, and his photo essays have appeared in numerous publications and gallery exhibitions.





there was a sudden realization of the need for an effective agency to come forward to allay the doubts and strengthen the courage of the citizens." Accordingly, on October 10, 1888, these men founded the second Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.¹¹

The fifty-seven original members of the Chamber of Commerce began an organization that would become the most influential and active group in this very loosely structured city. The Chamber's leadership in the fights to provide adequate sewerage, public transportation, and road expansion helped keep the city one step ahead of its constantly growing population. The Chamber helped bring the water of the Owens Valley and the Colorado River to Los Angeles. The Chamber lobbied tirelessly for federal assistance in dredging the largest man-made harbor in the world out of the mud flats at San Pedro—after leading the battle to have that formerly independent community annexed to Los Angeles. The Chamber's Industrial Bureau successfully attracted large and small industries to the city. But the Chamber also found time to promote the city and county of Los Angeles in an inspired variety of ways. For fifty years the organization remained true to the words of Frank Wiggins, its indefatigable first Director of Promotions: "The Chamber sleeps not when it comes to keeping the country informed that Los Angeles occupies a most advantageous spot on the map of the United States."¹²

The Chamber of Commerce proved to be the leading voice in the campaign to promote Los Angeles, but it did not labor alone. The Los Angeles Realty Board financed sev-



In this twilight vision looking up Wilshire Boulevard in 1928, haloed streetlights, billboards promoting real estate and Frigidaires, and a restaurant shaped like a hat suggest to travelers the possibilities of California living.

In bathing costumes studded with flowers, beauties vie for the title of Venice's most lovely, a (promotionally) significant event noted by a Chamber of Commerce photographer c. 1924. Teacher and class take to the beach c. 1936 for another Chamber photographer, illustrating the healthful nature of Southern California's citizenry, and that anything is possible there.

eral organizations charged with recruiting people to Southern California. The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors paid the Chamber a yearly stipend to prepare exhibits of county products and attractions for fairs and expositions held around the United States. The motion picture industry assisted the Chamber indirectly with a few promotional films about the Southlands, but more importantly by making Hollywood the home of the stars, a great lure for tourists and prospective settlers.¹³

The Automobile Club of Southern California, although primarily interested in improving conditions for car owners, became increasingly active in Southern California boosterism under the leadership of Standish Mitchell. In 1914 it began the massive project of erecting directional signs on the National Old Trails Road (the old Santa Fe Trail) between Los Angeles and Kansas City. This was followed two years later by similar projects on the Midland Trail from Los Angeles to Ely, Nevada, and the Lincoln Highway from Ely to Omaha. Featuring the distance to the next town, all signs carried the logo, "Auto Club of So. Calif." The Club's primary reason for the signs was to "induce motorists to come to Southern California."¹⁴

The 1920s ushered in the golden age of Southern California boosterism. During this decade advertising became more visual in its appeal, and hedonism became acceptable as a motif. This more colorful approach to selling the city was used by both the Chamber of Commerce and a new group it helped to found in 1921, the All Year Club.

The All Year Club represented the conviction of the Chamber, Los

Angeles Realty Board, Southern Pacific Railroad, and especially Harry Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, that not enough was being done to promote summer tourism to Southern California. Noting that in 1921 some 60 percent of the resident population of Los Angeles had originally come to the city only to visit, All Year Club Executive Secretary C. G. Milham set about blanketing America with copy on Southern California's charms.

Milham accomplished this in a variety of ways. The Chamber of Commerce and Automobile Club funneled requests for road maps, places of interest, and tourist accommodations to the All Year Club, which followed up the requests by mailing tourist literature. The club distributed beautifully illustrated pamphlets such as *Southern California Through the Camera* free at hotels, conventions, railroad stations, and many other sites. All of the club's publications, the most prominent being *Southern California: Year-Round Vacationland Supreme* and *Southern California All The Year*, featured the same theme. The area was "A Land of Infinite Variety," where tourists could choose between winter skiing or sunning. Southern California summers featured "balmy, rainless days and cool nights," making it the "all-year playground of America." Los Angeles offered plenty to see—movie studios, the La Brea Fossil Pits, the Chamber of Commerce Exhibit Hall, and Cawston's Ostrich Farm were within the city limits. Los Angeles' excellent system of highways and public transportation made everything within easy reach for the tourist. (Individuals who wrote to express interest in buying

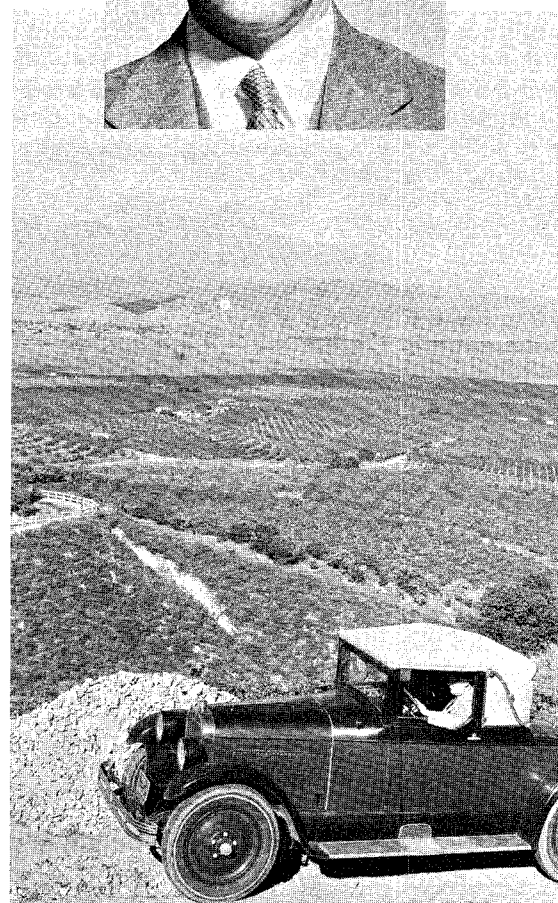
Clockwise from right:

Family tourist attractions such as the Lincoln Park Zoo's Ostrich Farm made Los Angeles popular with winter and, later, summer tourists brought to the area with the help of the All Year Club.

Chamber exhibits of Los Angeles County agricultural products travelled around the country, while Orange Girls (photograph c. 1946) made the produce all the sweeter.

The area's mild climate and plentiful, fertile, and cheap agricultural land—evidenced in this March 1928 view of new San Gabriel Valley orange groves—were regular themes in railroad and Chamber of Commerce publications.

Chamber photographer Arch Dunning helped amass the Chamber's estimated 50,000-image stock photo file begun in 1923.





land or employment were directed to the Chamber of Commerce.)¹⁶

Collaboration with the All Year Club did not mean that the Chamber eliminated its own promotional efforts. Since its inception, the Chamber's objective was not only "to promote the business interests of Southern California," but also "to induce immigration, and the subdivision, settlement, and cultivation of our lands."¹⁷ For over thirty years the Chamber had been sending millions of pamphlets, pre-fabricated exhibits of Southern California products, trained speakers, and a "California on Wheels" railroad car packed with literature and products to all corners of the United States. As the campaign reached its most aggressive stage in the mid-1920s, the Chamber could properly congratulate itself that "the great movement of population to California was started by the Chamber through a great advertising campaign of our resources, climate, etc. Los Angeles is now the largest city in the western Americas."¹⁸

By the 1920s the promotional machinery largely set up by Frank Wiggins, secretary and general manager of exhibits since 1899, industriously turned out colorful travel tips, brochures, advice to manufacturers in Los Angeles County, and area guide books such as *Los Angeles To-Day*. The only new addition to the propaganda arsenal was the Chamber's stock photograph file which was begun in 1923. The file covered Los Angeles in the 1920s and 1930s in detail before it began to be phased out during the 1940s and ended entirely in 1955.¹⁹ Prior to its demise, an estimated 50,000 images showing Los Angeles and its environs—from scenes of busy street intersections

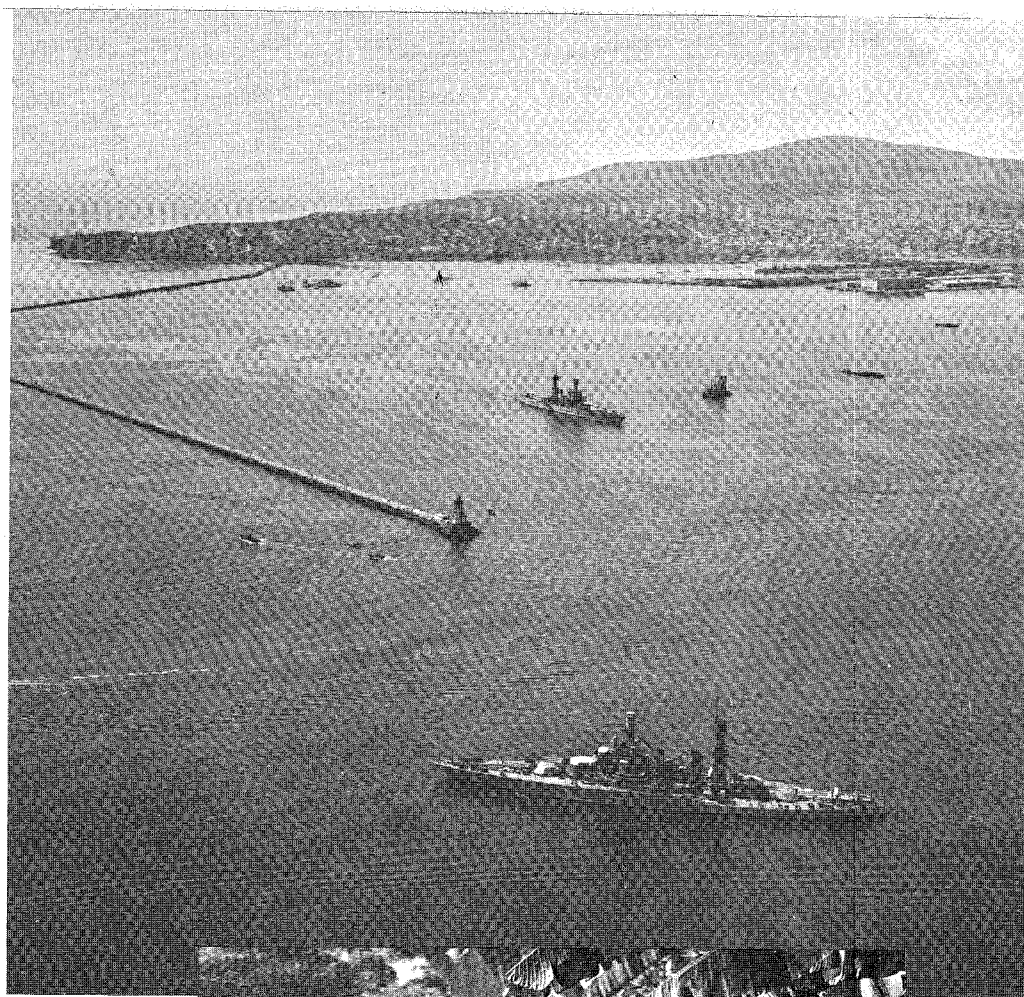


and evidence of commercial progress to bathing beauties, ethnic festivals and tourist curiosities—were filed in the Chamber's growing photo archives.

The photographs appeared in the Chamber's own publications as well as those in other parts of the country. They were also printed in the monthly Hanger Sheet, which was sent by the Chamber to over 500 eastern railway and steamship ticket offices and travel bureaus. In 1928 alone, 16,520 Chamber prints were distributed, and another 460 colored lantern slides were provided to sixty-two lecturers in both the United States and foreign countries.²⁰

Not surprisingly, photographers Arch Dunning, who took pictures for the Chamber from 1923 to 1928, and Newton Berlin, his successor, carefully put forth the city's most pleasant face, for instance, shooting factories from the outside or avoiding views of harsh working conditions. Prints given the Chamber by the industries themselves were sometimes less scrupulous in protecting their image, however, and in these gift photos, pots boiled, workers sweated, and floors needed sweeping.²¹

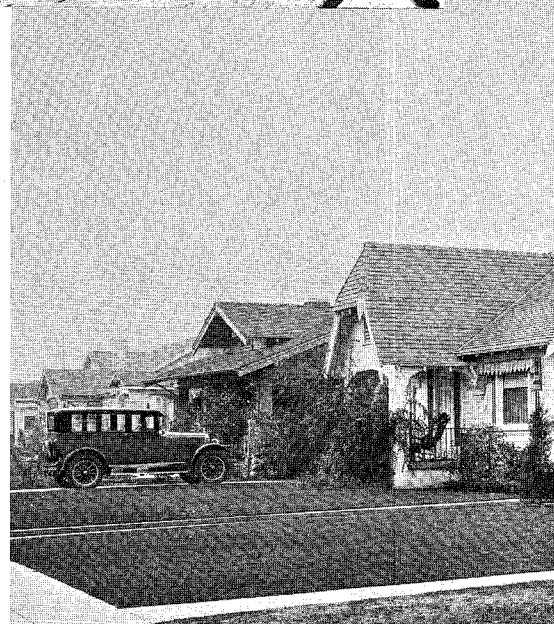
Because the Chamber gave such careful attention to amassing a photo file of positive images, the file does not tell the modern viewer a great deal about social problems of the times. The file does, however, reveal the motifs exploited in the most efficient and multi-faceted urban promotional campaign in American history. Climate, of course, was emphasized in a variety of ways. Not only was it portrayed as encouraging an active life out-of-doors, but it was seen as helping to



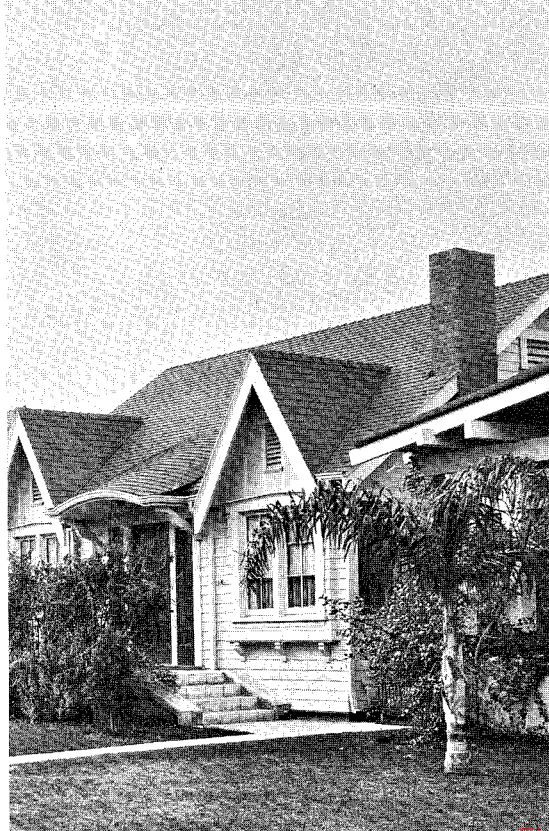
Building a breakwater and dredging the largest man-made harbor in the world out of the mud flats of San Pedro were among the Chamber's major successes (photograph c. 1924 with battleship in foreground).

The healthfulness and pleasure of life-out-of-doors remained an essential theme of the Chamber's promotional literature, even in the Depression (1937 view of library table in Pershing Square).

Bungalows replaced tenement housing, making workers in Los Angeles more content than back East, according to Chamber promotional literature (view of typical homes at 4th Avenue near 54th Street in 1926).



Indefatigable Promotional Director Frank Wiggins (photograph c. 1922) orchestrated a steady flow of Chamber exhibits and publications for three decades.



provide a contented labor force. This was a theme stressed by the Chamber's Industrial Department which successfully convinced numerous manufacturers to shift their operations to Los Angeles or open branch offices in the city. Workers were more content in Southern California than the East, the Chamber claimed, because they left behind their "old associations" when they relocated in the home of the open shop. In addition, the city's cool evenings and lack of humidity allowed the laborer to find "rest and refreshment from his daily tasks." Even workers' housing in Los Angeles contributed to general contentment: "The tenement is unknown here, and the workers live in their own little bungalows, surrounded by plenty of land for fruits, vegetables and flowers, and where children romp and play throughout the entire year under climatic conditions that are as nearly ideal as exist anywhere on the face of the earth."²²

Chamber propaganda also emphasized how Southern California's climate would make the area the aeronautics capital of the nation. Dr. Ford Carpenter, a meteorologist with the United States Weather Bureau and the Army who became the first manager of the Chamber's Department of Meteorology and Aeronautics in 1918, published countless articles combining his technical expertise with the boosterism associated with all Chamber activities. Carpenter's photographs regularly illustrated his arguments that the number of clear or semi-cloudy days in Southern California made the area a natural choice for the headquarters of the aeronautics industry. Similarly, Chamber photographs regularly covered local visits by aviation

heroes such as Charles Lindbergh or the stop made by the German dirigible *Graf Zeppelin* on its round-the-world flight in 1929. Events that united both aviation and business expansion, such as the opening of the American Railway Express air freight service in 1927, received particular Chamber attention.²³

Detailed coverage of aeronautical events reflected the Chamber's emphasis on transportation in general. During the 1920s, the population center of the United States was in Illinois, 2200 miles from Los Angeles. The majority of people who came to Los Angeles to settle or sightsee came by train, and not surprisingly, the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroad terminals and trains were regularly photographed for the Chamber's stock photo file. But the Chamber was also well aware of the new transcontinental motor highways that were being developed by federal and local governments and being given road signs by the Automobile Club of Southern California, and Chamber publications boasted that Los Angeles had more cars per capita than any other city in the world.²⁴

While public transportation was clearly losing its battle with the private automobile, Chamber photographs and publications continued to feature the city's extensive interurban streetcar network. Because the Los Angeles basin was still cheaply and frequently served by the cars of the Pacific Electric and Los Angeles Railway systems, the Chamber and the All Year Club published timetables and route maps of the lines. The only part of the Pacific Electric system that was never mentioned in Chamber promotional literature was the Hollywood Subway,

The Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce Collection of approximately 15,000 negatives and 12,000 prints has been donated to the CHS History Center in Los Angeles. As the images are cataloged and processed, they are available to the public. The collection is especially strong in images of Los Angeles in the 1920s and 1930s, making it a rare and valuable resource for researchers. For more information, contact the Los Angeles History Center.

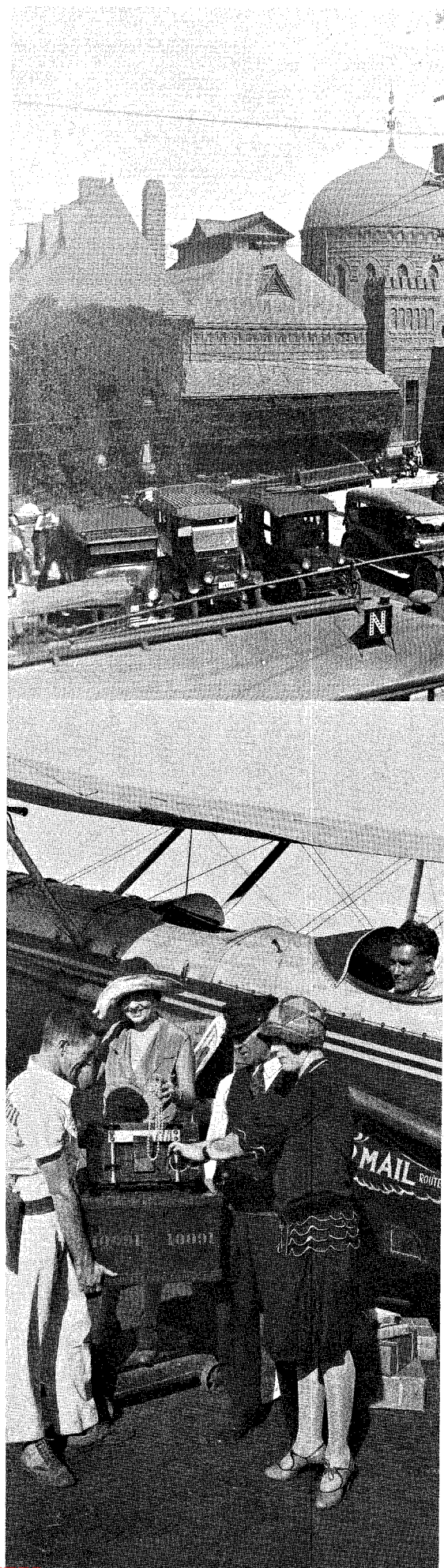
a line running from the Subway Terminal Building on Hill Street three-fifths of a mile underground toward Hollywood. Whatever salutary effects the subway had on downtown congestion, it did not fit with the Chamber's promotion of "the land of the beckoning climate."²⁵

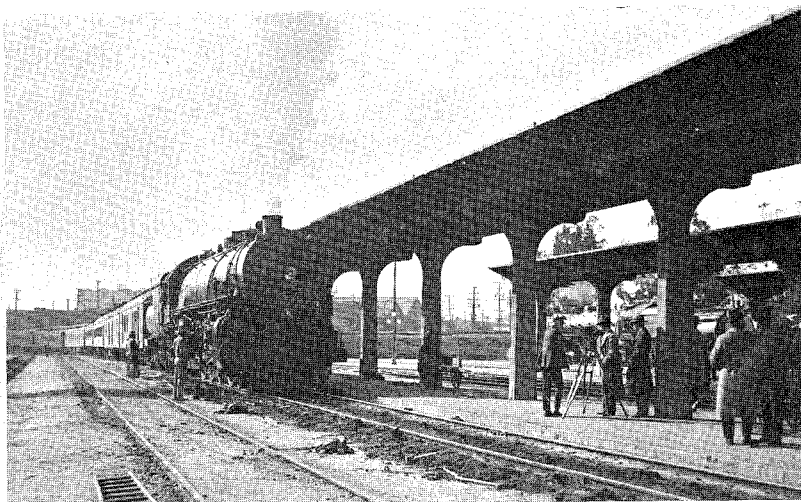
The Chamber also took great pride in the central leadership role it played in converting San Pedro into a deep water harbor capable of handling large commercial ships. Extensive federally supported dredging had been required to create a viable harbor and construct a breakwater to do the job performed naturally by the Golden Gate in San Francisco and Cabrillo Point in San Diego. Chamber literature emphasized the role the harbor played in the industrial growth of Los Angeles, and its final opening was one of the factors that encouraged the Chamber of Commerce to inaugurate its Industrial Bureau in 1915. What followed was a shift in Chamber literature from promoting Los Angeles as an agricultural area to touting it as a manufacturer's paradise. Although Los Angeles continued to be the

leading agricultural county in the United States into the 1940s, the Chamber felt that the growth of industry was necessary if Southern California was to take its place as an important American city.²⁶

Celebrating Los Angeles' industrial growth never got in the way of advertising the good life found there. Describing the Samson Tyre and Rubber Company building, which featured pseudo-Babylonian priest-kings carved into its walls, one Chamber publication noted, "Here the eye for business has not closed for beauty." Neither Samson Tyre and Rubber nor any of the other factories in Chamber illustrations belched smoke. The harbor was uncluttered with foul-looking barges or decrepit tubs, and even the industrial sections of Los Angeles somehow sparkled with the same aura of healthiness that suffused the beaches and mountains surrounding the city.²⁷

An example of how Los Angeles industries were made to seem different appears in a series of photo essays about cities published in *The Independent* magazine in 1928. Only in the case of Los Angeles were all the pictures in the essay provided by a chamber of commerce. The photographs of St. Louis, Duluth, Kansas City, and Cleveland, supplied by local chambers of commerce and stock photo houses such as Ewing Galloway, depict the eastern cities as uniformly workaday. Even parks offer only mild respite from the grime of the lovingly depicted factories and industrialized rivers. Los Angeles, on the other hand, appears as a twentieth-century garden of Eden. New buildings shimmer white in bright sunlight, and oil fields coexist with orange groves.²⁸





The rails carried most tourists to Southern California in the mid-1920s, and photographers duly captured their arrival in the Santa Fe station at 6th and Central, an arresting crenelated building guaranteed to let tourists know they had finally reached Xanadu.

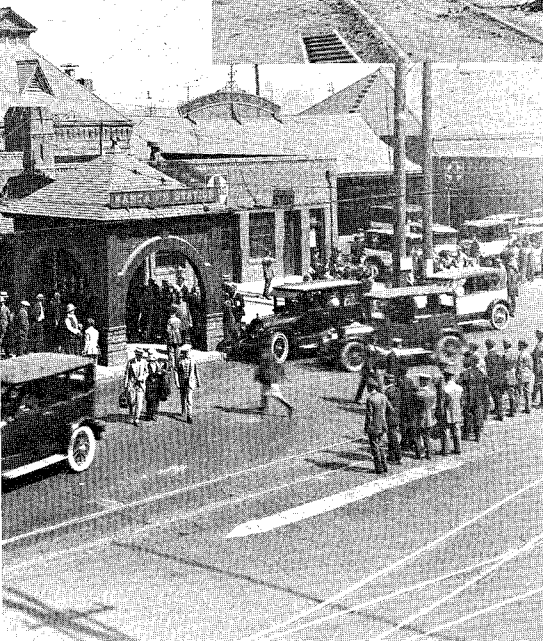
Aviation and business expansion meld for a Chamber photographer in 1927 as two ladies symbolically deposit their valuables in the new Air Express Service's armored box under the watchful eye of the airplane pilot.

Aviation hero Charles Lindbergh's triumphal visit to Los Angeles in 1927 offered Chamber photographers the opportunity to promote Southern California as the potential aviation capital of the world.

The numerous cityscapes found in the Los Angeles Chamber's stock photo file also depicted growth and substantiality in a pleasant atmosphere. Buildings are tall enough to be imposing without being overwhelming, and they reveal a busy commercial life. City guide books published by the Chamber tended instead to feature amusement centers such as Gay's Lion Farm or Wrigley Field, home of the Pacific Coast League Los Angeles Angels, or programmatic architecture such as ice cream stores shaped like igloos. General publications like *Los Angeles To-Day* or *Los Angeles: City and County* featured both styles of architecture.²⁹

Overall, the exotic won out over the sober in most promotional literature. This was evident even in the types of trees—the palm and eucalyptus—imported and planted in Los Angeles fertile soil to lend a unique look to the city. Every effort was made to present Los Angeles, as a city where anything was possible. Santa Catalina, an island twenty-six miles off San Pedro, became an "enchanted isle of the Pacific." In one memorable series of photos in the file, a school, complete with globe, desks, and teacher in her bathing suit, convened at the beach. Similarly, photos of Abbot Kinney's Venice development showed not only an extensive amusement zone but a city with houses, parks, factories, trees, and tall buildings. Venice emerged as the most exotic locale an American could enjoy without crossing an international border.³⁰

Boosters never dwell on the drawbacks of their projects, and in the case of Los Angeles the brush fires that plagued its dry hills in the sum-



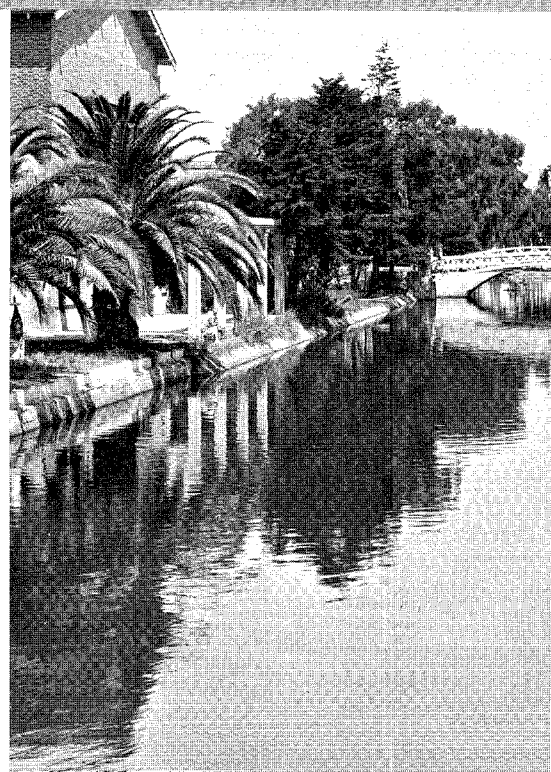
mer months were neither photographed nor discussed. In 1906 the Chamber published *Los Angeles, May 1, 1906*, which explained that the city, 500 miles south of San Francisco, suffered none of the damage inflicted on its northern neighbor by the earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906. It further claimed, "Geologists say that the rock formation underlying the city of Los Angeles is of such a nature that it is as safe from the danger of earthquake as any locality in the United States."³¹ The existence of earthquakes was officially denied until the destruction caused by the Long Beach-Compton quake on March 10, 1933, made this impossible. The worst disaster ever to strike the city, the collapse of the St. Francis Dam on March 13, 1928, which killed 451 people, was only covered in a report prepared by the Chamber for the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.³²

In Chamber literature and photographs, ethnic and racial minorities, working class environments, unions, and political organizations were also considered inappropriate for city promotion. (In contrast, the 1981 official celebration of the Los Angeles Bicentennial in 1981 stressed the city's cultural diversity.) The few Latinos portrayed either worked in agricultural fields or danced on ceremonial occasions. Chinese appeared only to celebrate Chinese new year or as props in China City, as the new Chinatown was called. Indians wore archaic costumes, and blacks went unnoticed entirely.

By the 1920s when the stock photo file was being expanded, promotional literature no longer needed to demonstrate that Los Angeles was a bona fide city. The fine houses and busy downtown scenes of the early



Abbot Kinney's Venice showed modest bungalows and a downtown (along Windward Avenue) with plenty of parking to Chamber photographers. Exotic moorish arcades and peaceful, if foreign, canals let tourists know they were no longer in Dubuque.





Like the buffalo, minorities vanished from Chamber photographs, to reappear only in carefully staged (and often highly fictionalized) settings.

photographic books gave way to a celebration of the personal joy afforded by the Southern California climate. This emphasis on personal pleasure reflected the general trends in nationwide advertising during the 1920s.³⁴ The black and white austerity of *The County and City of Los Angeles in Southern California* (1893) with its descriptions of the agricultural paradise found near the city gave way to the full-colored enticements of *Los Angeles To-Day* (1912–1929) which concentrated on things to see and do. According to one writer, the city had “no depressing heat, no insect pests. It is not an enervating climate, but bracing and full of electricity.”³⁵

During the depression years of the 1930s, the Chamber continued to add to the stock photo file but ceased publication of its enticement literature. It continued to send exhibits to state fairs and commercial expositions and put them on display at Chamber headquarters, but the travelling boosters working for the Speakers Bureau were recalled. Even the All Year Club toned down its campaign for tourists, dropping expensive promotional publications such as *Southern California Through the Camera* and contenting itself with maps and sightseeing guides. Guides bore the legend, “WARNING! While attractions for tourists are unlimited, please advise anyone seeking employment not to come to Southern California, as natural attractions have already drawn so many capable, experienced people that the present demand is more than satisfied.”³⁶

The war years brought an influx of workers for Southern California’s

numerous defense plants, and the post-war years saw many veterans returning to the city they first saw on their way to the Pacific Theater of Operations. There was no need to start the Chamber’s promotional campaign again. By 1948, when the Chamber was congratulating itself on sixty years of service to Los Angeles, the entire booster campaign was relegated to a few paragraphs to make way for the more serious and continuing Chamber business of celebrating the free enterprise system.

Today the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce operates similarly to other chambers around the country, concerning itself with community business interests and civic improvement plans. Its headquarters at 4th and Bixel Streets, occupied since 1956, has rooms for various bureaus and business meetings, but no space for the ten-foot elephant made of walnuts that formerly graced the exhibit center in its roomier headquarters on Broadway.

The designers of the Chamber’s nineteenth and early twentieth century promotional campaign took it for granted that the rest of the country would be enraptured with Southern California if it only knew more about the area, and time proved the Chamber correct. The area’s population at least doubled every ten years from 11,000 in 1880 to 1,238,000 in 1930, as the city grew from an insignificant frontier town to one of the leading cities in America. □

All the photographs in this article are from the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce/CHS Photograph Collection.

(See page 73 for notes.)



OAKLAND WATER IS POLLUTED.

DECOMPOSING CARCASSES OF CATTLE AT THE HEAD OF LAKE TEMESCAL.

DINGEE MAKES A COMPLAINT

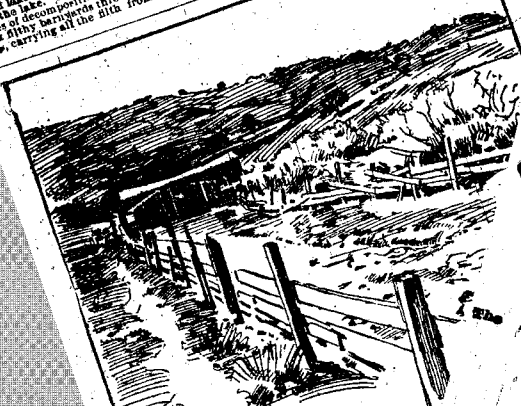
THE BOARD OF HEALTH GIVES ORDERS FOR AN IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION.

The following note received at the office of the Oakland Board of Health yesterday, caused an investigation that has already produced startling results:

February 27, 1899.
 Dr. Frank Adams, Health Officer, Oakland, Cal.
 Sir: I have been informed on reliable authority that immediately at the head of Lake Temescal there are numerous dead cattle lying on the lake and not over a quarter of a mile from the lake. These carcasses are also a source of decomposition. There are also several most filthy barometers through which the creek runs, carrying all the dirt from the said yard.

Inspecting Officer is and about Oakland. The report of George E. Colby of the University of California, who examined the water from the lake on Mr. Colby's report, will also prove of interest. Mr. Colby reports: "Bovine residues at 100 dec. 218; albumin, 27; oxides, contained in milk, 1.80." Mr. Colby added this remark to his report, in speaking of the present matter in the water: "The contents of the dairy, especially the albumin, all can stand." Cases that it carries about all the dairy man, whose name is Rodgers, arrested on the strength of the report of Inspector Douglas, and a warrant will be issued for the first thing this morning. The Health Officer shall be notified of the New York Dairy shall be sold if upon examination it is found impure.

Association will not come help. The proposition of the Oakland Board of Health to the people yesterday, to say that both the majority vote, both the Oakland voted against the vote in Oakland. The vote in Oakland, 2045, against the vote was for the same. By previous the vote, 68, against 86. Temescal will not come help.



THE COWYARD THAT DRAINS INTO THE SOURCES OF OAKLAND (Sketches by a "Call" artist.)

into the lake, and I think it is a proper matter for your inspector to see and report on. I have been informed on reliable authority that immediately at the head of Lake Temescal there are numerous dead cattle lying on the lake and not over a quarter of a mile from the lake. These carcasses are also a source of decomposition. There are also several most filthy barometers through which the creek runs, carrying all the dirt from the said yard.

Scientific experts have made a full and accurate analysis of the Costa Costa Water Company. The following is the result, as reported by Professor Winslow Anderson, A. M., M. D., publisher of the Pacific Medical Journal, under whose personal supervision the tests were conducted. The examination was made in the chemical and bacteriological laboratories of the University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

BACTERIA

Analysis of Contra Costa Water.

Microscope's Startling Disclosure

WARNED

Danger Lurking in Water.

MICROBES

Inevitably Water Full of Bacteria. Dense Colonies in Every Drop.

Expert Report on the Contra Costa Supply.

A Menace to Health and a Peril to the Consumer.

Technical science is not popular. A chemical analysis is neither so thrilling as one of Stanley Weyman's romances nor as amusing as Du Maurier's "Trilby." Footnotes are frequently necessary to render a scientific disquisition intelligible to the lay mind. Bacteriology is a particularly intricate science. And yet, in this progressive age, some general knowledge of the results of scientific investigation in this direction is absolutely necessary to avoid the evils which ignorance constantly entails. Everybody should possess a faint idea of the influence of the air on the water.



DEAD COW AT THE HEAD OF LAKE TEMESCAL (Sketches by a "Call" artist.)

OAKLAND'S WATER WAR

Competing private utilities bring water
—and chaos—
to Oakland in the 1890s

by Sherwood D. Burgess

Two newspaper headlines seem much the same: "Water—sodium, other pollutants potential health hazards" and "Warned Danger lurking in water." The threats, however, appeared nearly ninety years apart the former in the *Contra Costa Times* on May 16, 1983, and the latter in the *Oakland Tribune* on May 14, 1895. Hundreds of similar headlines can be found in the archives of dozens of California papers because the purity of drinking water and the control of scarce water resources have been ongoing historical problems for the communities of the arid California coast.

During the 1890s the San Francisco Bay city of Oakland found itself being served by two competing water companies, each struggling to acquire water resources and customers. The often violent, sometimes ludicrous, "Oakland Water War," as it came to be known, threw the city into turmoil and dispelled the myth that a community can benefit from competing public utilities.

For more than two decades before the water war of the 1890s, Oak-

land's water supply had been monopolized by the Contra Costa Water Company. Through the efforts of engineer-philanthropist Anthony Chabot, a hydraulic-mining developer and the founder of many Bay Area water systems, the company had constructed two major catchment reservoirs in the East Bay hills—Lake Temescal above Oakland and Lake Chabot to the south near San Leandro. By all accounts the company charged high rates for muddy water of doubtful purity. Although the water rates were set by the Oakland city council, it was charged that the water company determined who sat on the council. As long as the likeable Chabot returned part of the profits to the city through his many charities, public resentment remained below the surface.¹ Then, in 1888, Chabot's death left his more ruthless chief associate, Henry Pierce, with complete power over Contra Costa Water Company activities.

Eclipsed by the shadow of the well-known Chabot, Pierce had been the company's little publicized "inside" man. When Pierce assumed full control of company operations, the company became increasingly arrogant and lost its good will in the community. Patrons who complained about rates or quality of water were bluntly told they were not being forced to subscribe to the water service and then found their rates raised. Throughout the '80s

and '90s, the name Contra Costa Water Company grew to symbolize to Oaklanders the zenith of corporate ruthlessness.²

As Oakland's disgruntled water customers increased in numbers, there arose to prominence an ambitious, amiable young man in his early twenties, William Dingee. Dingee started his working life in the mid-1870s as a clerk in a real estate office. Within ten years he had become the city's leading realtor and an active developer of vast areas of hill land east of the city. As Oakland's leading "booster" through his various public relations activities, he gained wide-spread popularity. About 1890 he built Fernwood, a three-story, nineteen-room mansion with extensive gardens in the Oakland hills. It was one of the most elegant homes in Alameda County.³

Dingee, of course, needed a water supply for his vast estate, but it was above the level of Temescal reservoir and could not be supplied by the Contra Costa Water Company. Not one to let obstacles block his path, Dingee found that by boring tunnels about 300 feet long into the present Montclair District hills, an abundant source of ground water could be tapped for his needs. Soon having far more water than necessary for his estate, Dingee incorporated the Piedmont Springs Water and Power Company and built a small water system to supply his extensive real estate holdings in present-day Pied-

Dingee's complaints about the Oakland Board of Health's investigation into the purity of Lake Temescal's watershed were picked up by the muckraking San Francisco Call on February 28, 1895.

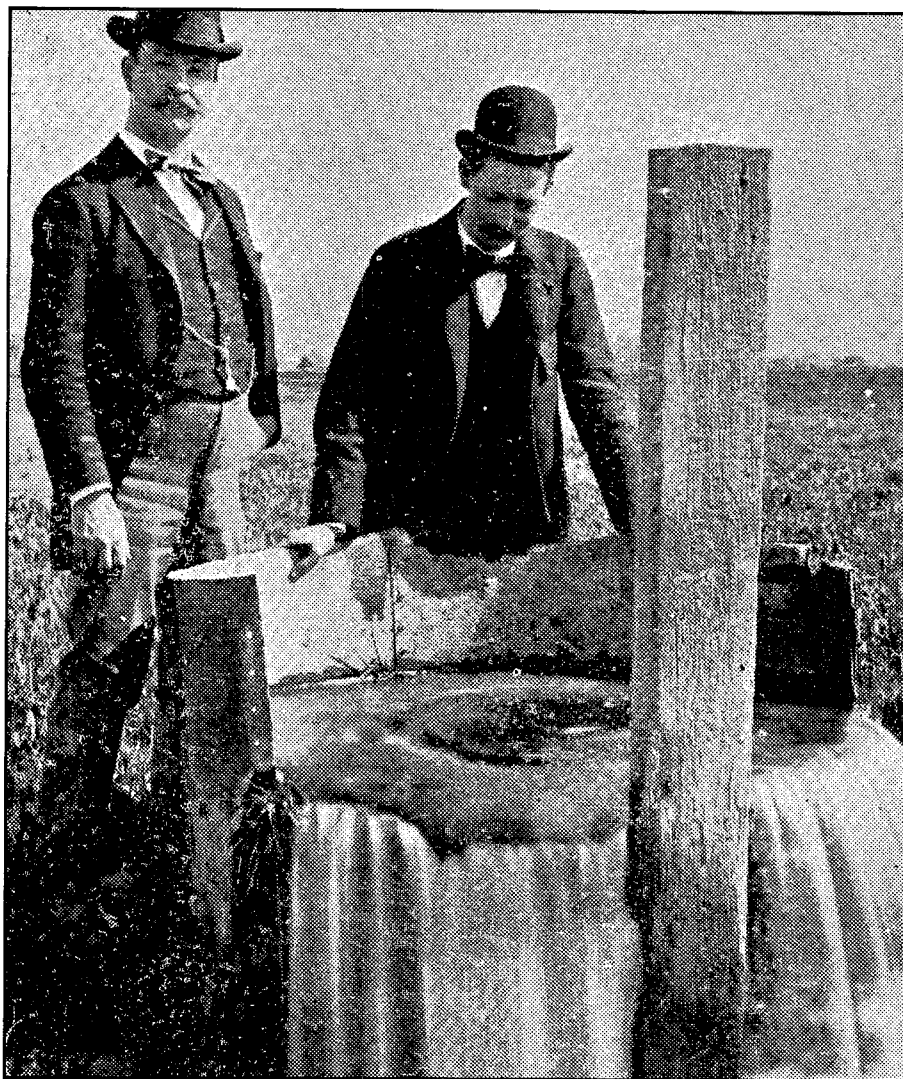
Microscopic analysis of the Contra Costa Company's water showed it to be full of bacterial organisms, sketched for curious readers by a staff artist at the Oakland Daily Tribune on April 15, 1895.

mont near Montclair. With plenty of water at his disposal, the ambitious entrepreneur could not resist the temptation to expand his system down the rolling Piedmont hills into Oakland. By May 1892 his pipes had invaded the downtown Oakland domain of the Contra Costa Water Company.⁴

Dingee then realized that he had overstepped his capabilities. His little hill-section water company now found itself in competition with the powerful Contra Costa Company, and Dingee had neither sufficient capital nor water sources to challenge the big monopoly. Accordingly, in late 1892 he offered to sell his system at cost to the Contra Costa Company, but Pierce contemptuously refused the offer, hoping to bankrupt the upstart and obtain the Piedmont Water Company facilities for practically nothing.⁵ This decision would ultimately ruin Pierce's company, cost him his job, and throw Oakland into the most tumultuous years of its history.

When Pierce refused Dingee's offer, the undaunted Dingee sought the two things he needed most to survive—more money and more water. In the spring of 1893 he found both. He bought a large area of artesian or water-bearing fields near San Francisco Bay at Alvarado about twenty miles south of Oakland and in addition interested two San Francisco capitalists, Alvinza Hayward and Andrew Rose, Jr., in his project.

Sherwood D. Burgess, retired director of Heald Colleges, Oakland and Walnut Creek, is writing a biography of Anthony Chabot, founder of the Contra Costa Water Company.



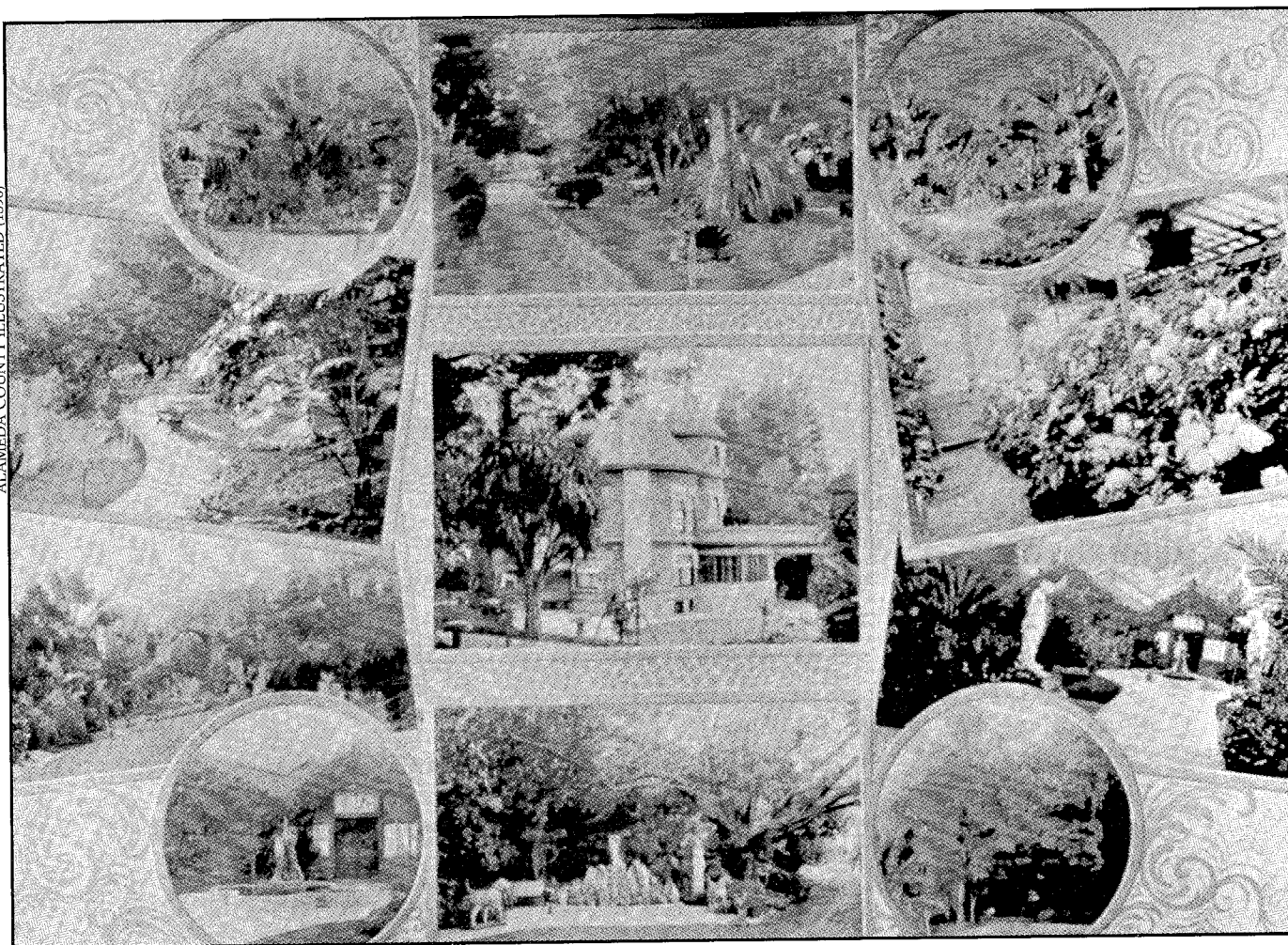
While expanding the mains of the Piedmont Company until they covered all of downtown Oakland and served an ever-growing list of subscribers, Dingee concentrated his efforts in 1893 on digging artesian wells at Alvarado. By the end of that year he had wells capable of producing fifteen million gallons a day, many times the city's needs.⁶

Dingee then made Oakland an offer that could have changed its history. He proposed to pipe his water to the city and sell it wholesale to a municipally-owned distribution system. Long and fruitless debates followed, resulting in the council losing this chance to institute municipal ownership of its water thirty years before the eventual establishment of the East Bay Municipal Utility District. Disgusted by the council's in-

Artesian wells at Alvarado produced 15 million gallons of water a day for the Oakland Water Company (President William Dingee probably stands at left), which battled with the Central Costa Company to supply the city of Oakland's water. From Calderwood and Loofbouro, Facts and Figures of Alameda County (1896)

decision, Dingee withdrew his offer in August 1893.⁷

In December, Dingee, Rose, and Hayward moved on their own to organize the Oakland Water Company. Dingee's Piedmont Water Company continued its separate existence for another year and then sold out to the Oakland Water Company at a handsome personal profit for Dingee. In 1894 Oakland Water built a pumping plant at Alvarado, and by the end of the year the Alvarado artesian water was added to that produced by the hillside tun-



nels. The upstart Dingee had become a formidable rival to Pierce's Contra Costa Water Company.⁸

Contra Costa Company also developed other problems. In 1893 the company lost its political control of the city through the election of a reform mayor, George Pardee, and a hostile city council. In January 1894 the new council reduced water rates by thirty percent. When a belligerent Pierce threatened a lawsuit, a smiling Dingee posed as the city's benefactor and approved the cut. Next, the new city council gave Oakland Water Company all the city's hydrant business. Finally, financial difficulties began to plague Contra Costa Company as competition caused profits and dividends to drop, and eastern brokers refused to buy a new bond issue.⁹

As the months of 1894 passed, both companies made increasingly disparaging public remarks about the purity of the other's water and maneuvered for public good will and political advantage. Neither was above pettiness. As fate would have it, Contra Costa Company offices were located in the Dingee Building, and humiliated company officials were forced to drink their rival's water. In retaliation Contra Costa Company employees abandoned years of conservative water use and became very wasteful with water, prompting Dingee to counter by increasing the company's rent to an unheard-of \$500 a month. This forced a quick evacuation from his premises.¹⁰ The pettiness soon developed into an all-out battle for survival, and few cities have witnessed

Water for Fernwood, Dingee's elegant home and gardens in the hills of Piedmont, came from tunnels bored into the hills above the level of the Temescal Reservoir, which was owned by the Contra Costa Water Company.

corporation warfare as vicious as the resulting Oakland Water War of 1895.

Both companies began the year by cutting their rates far below the legally set ceiling, and wild cut-throat competition followed. No sooner would a resident subscribe to one company than an agent from its rival would offer a lower rate. While a few people sentimentally stayed with the old company and a few others paid higher rates for the supposed purity of the new company's artesian water, most people

For three years the rate-cutting phase of the water war continued until both companies were near bankruptcy.

enjoyed the competition and happily played one company against the other by switching companies every few weeks.¹¹ For three years the rate-cutting phase of the water war continued until both companies were near bankruptcy.

Dingee added a new element to the battle by opening a "germ warfare" offensive. He wrote to the County Board of Health that the watershed of Contra Costa Company's Lake Temescal, which included the land on which his own estate was built, was full of dead cows and that barnyards and out-houses lined the creeks flowing into the reservoir. Local newspapers seized on the story, and the *San Francisco Call* sent a reporter to the present-day Montclair area. His lurid report of the filth he encountered was illustrated by drawings of dead cows. These cows, he claimed, were "probable victims of tuberculosis. . . . Winter rains poured through the bodies from the watershed and carried the germs of the disease which destroyed them through the water pipes of Oakland and into many a home."¹²

This was but a preview of the articles and pictures which were to fill the papers in the spring of 1895. The *Oakland Enquirer* published a similarly critical report on the Lake Chabot watershed, and the *Tribune* soon took up Oakland Water Company's cause with a full page of drawings of microscope slides showing bewiskered germs wiggling in the Contra Costa water. When numerous analyses by a University of California professor showed the water unfit to drink, the *Tribune* climaxed its campaign with a three-column article headed: "WARNED. Dangers Lurking in

Water." It contained the following potent assessment of Oakland's drinking water:

*The water stored in Lake Chabot and Lake Temescal contains more animal rotteness than any other in the world . . . The smell of the Contra Costa water during the summer is indescribable. It is the perfume of the morgue. It reminds of slaughter houses where sanitary inspectors never come . . . The Contra Costa water habit is as debilitating as the opium habit or the whiskey habit. Thousands of Oakland citizens are suffering from the Contra Costa water habit. . . . They awake in the morning with bad tastes in their mouths . . . They are weak of stomach and weary of brain. They are constantly calling the doctor. Eventually they call the undertaker. The doctors know what is the matter. They know it is the result of the Contra Costa Water habit. . . .*¹³

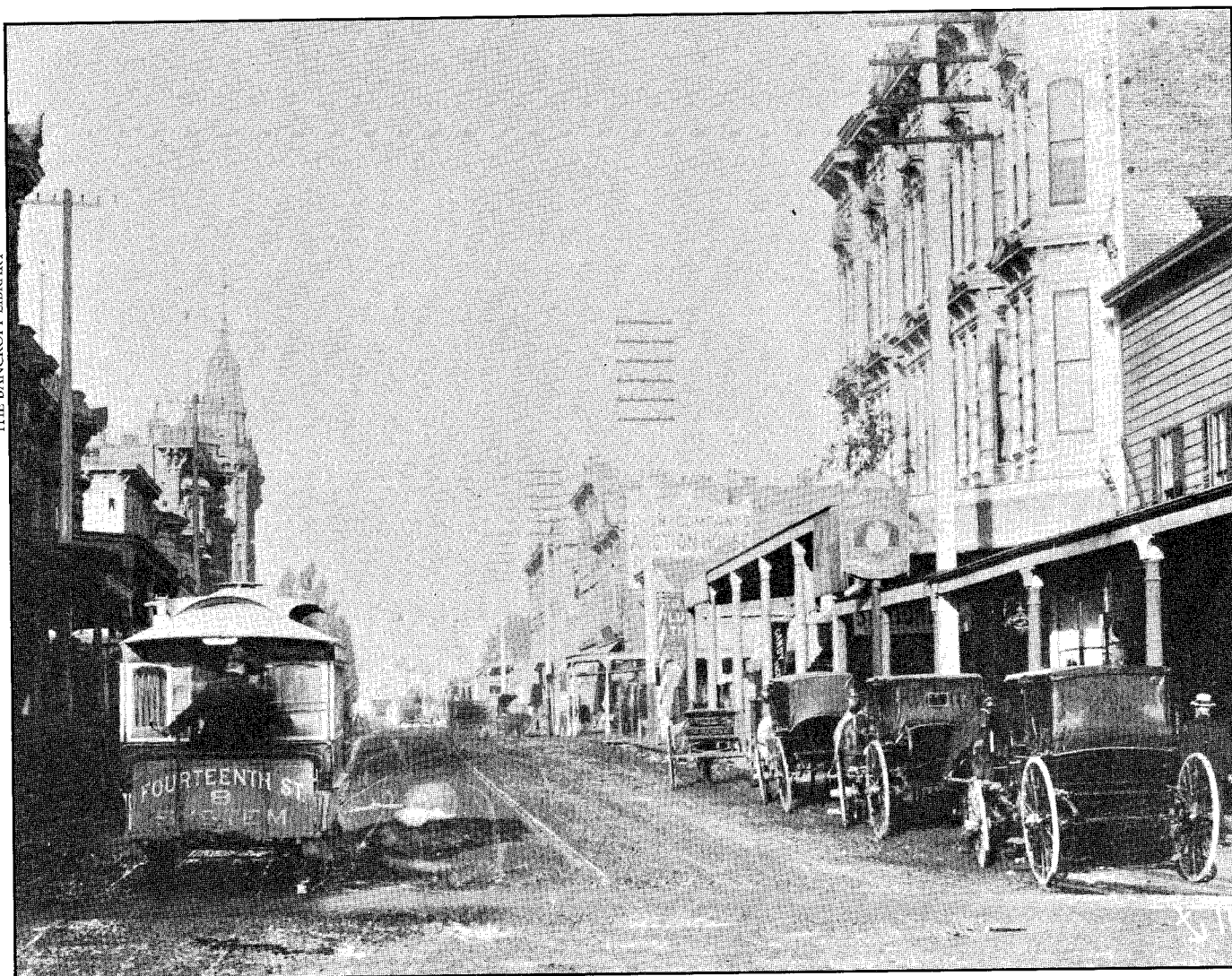
The wounded Contra Costa Company met this attack by hiring another professor who claimed that the water was pure, but when a public test by experts of the two waters was proposed, Contra Costa Company backed down. It countered, however, by claiming that Oakland Water Company water was alkaline, and it exhibited as evidence a sediment-clogged waterback from a stove through which Dingee's water had passed. The Dingee-paid professor branded the evidence as fake, while Contra Costa Company's professor said it was authentic. For a time Oakland's water war threatened to boil over into the faculty club of the university. Dingee set up his own display of Contra Costa water samples that could be examined under microscopes by anyone who had the stomach to look.¹⁴

By the end of June the biological

warfare had peaked, and Oaklanders seemed resigned to drink Contra Costa Company's germs or the Oakland Water Company's alkali. But a more violent phase of the war was just beginning, although it started as an accident. To celebrate the Fourth of July 1895, Dingee installed some fountains in Lake Merritt and released water under great pressure to demonstrate the power of his system. Suddenly a new fountain appeared, not in the lake, but in a nearby street. Dingee's main water line had burst, and water pressure throughout the city dropped to almost zero. For almost a day, Oakland Water Company subscribers were forced to borrow buckets of "germ-laden" Contra Costa water from their neighbors.¹⁵

Joyful about this incident, Pierce and his Contra Costa officials wanted more of them. A few days later Oakland Water Company subscribers gagged on the saline, murky mess that poured from their faucets. Contra Costa agents immediately spread the word that Dingee's wells had gone dry, but Dingee soon found the real answer. At Alvarado holes had been punched in a flume where it crossed a salt water inlet between a well and the pump, mixing salt water with the fresh. Despite the seemingly simple explanation, more people became convinced that Contra Costa Company water, if turbid, was at least reliable.¹⁶

A few weeks later the Oakland Company's water pressure dropped so low that the upper floors of buildings received no water and the city was at the mercy of fire for two days. Dingee claimed his water main between Alvarado and Oakland had been sabotaged, but when he announced that service was restored



many of his subscribers who were still waterless concluded that Dingee's system was completely out. Investigation showed that the valves in front of their homes had been turned off during the night. Meanwhile, someone shut off the valve of a major reservoir to disrupt service in the Piedmont area.¹⁷

Contra Costa Company then played its trump card. Buying land near Dingee's wells in Alvarado, it dug its own artesian wells and, in a futile effort to dry-up Dingee's wells, pumped three million gallons of artesian water into the bay each day. The resulting storm of public protest lost Contra Costa Company whatever popularity it had gained from Dingee's misfortunes, and after two months the effort was abandoned.¹⁸

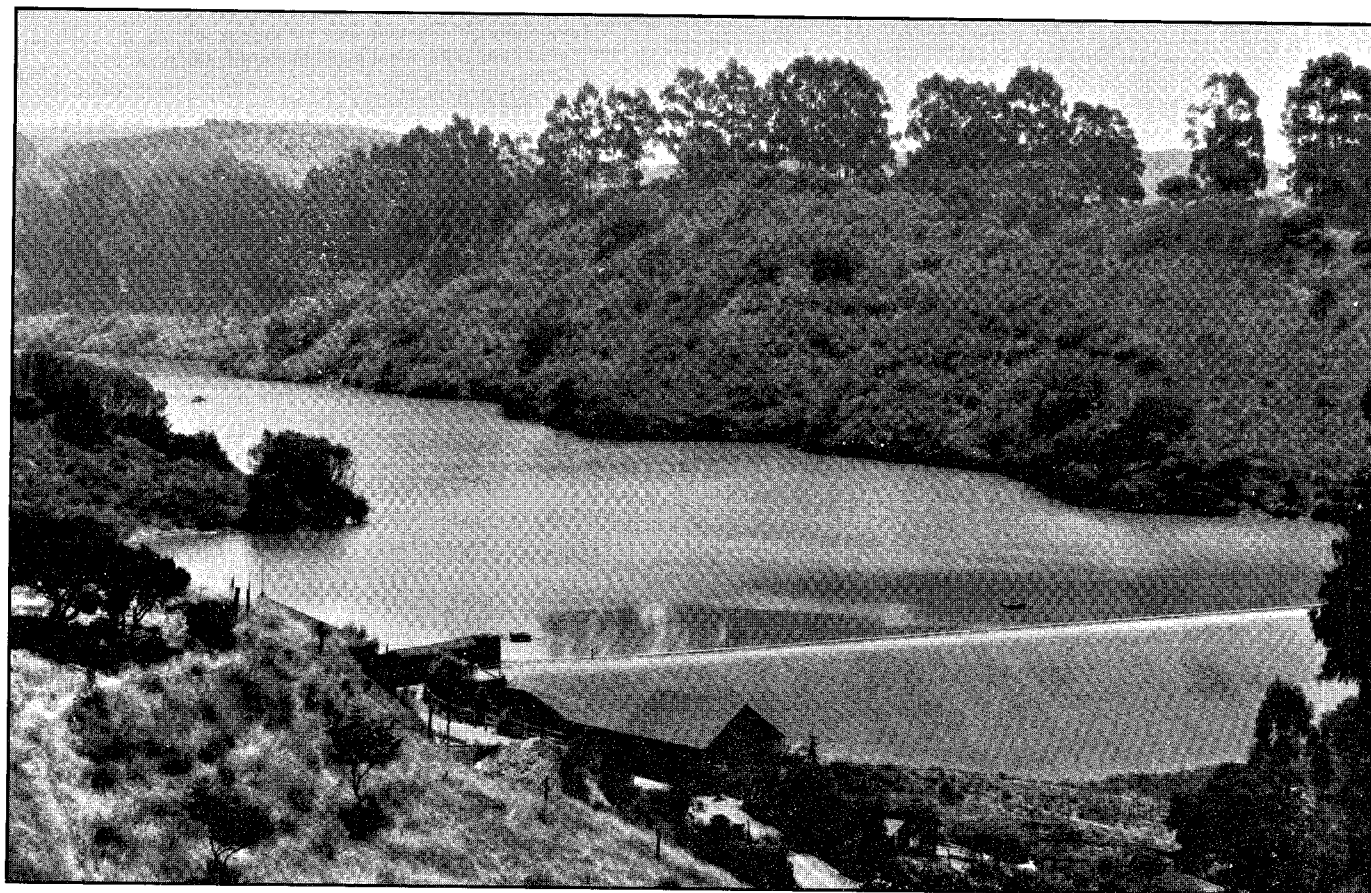
During the next two years, the war lessened in tempo. Except for the dynamiting of one of Oakland Company's reservoirs, violence ceased.¹⁹ The germ propaganda war continued, though less vigorously than earlier and price under-cutting continued more viciously than ever.

By mid-1897 both companies had fallen in serious trouble. Contra Costa Company's stock had dropped from 100 in 1893 to 32; dividends went unpaid, and company bonds were worthless. But Dingee had also fallen from favor. He was no longer a hero to the city council, which turned part of the hydrant business back to the old company. In September 1897 his system clogged with sand, causing low pressure for a week. In December Dingee reprinted thousands of

Water mains of the two competing water companies snaked through growing downtown Oakland by 1893 (view looking up 14th Street).

copies of a Board of Health bulletin warning residents to boil Contra Costa Company water before drinking it, but this move had little effect; surviving Contra Costa Company subscribers seemed thoroughly immune to water-borne germs. Both companies were plagued with hundreds of delinquent accounts as customers refused to pay their bills, knowing well that neither company would cut off their service. There was only one thing to do and that was call a truce.²⁰

In January 1898 a truce was agreed upon. Both companies openly pledged to charge the legal rates and tacitly agreed to stop other forms of



CHS, SAN FRANCISCO



CHS, SAN FRANCISCO

Newspaper exposés such as a scathing account in the *Oakland Enquirer* (above right) revealed that barnyards and waterclosets were polluting the Lake Temescal (above) and Lake Chabot water sheds (Left) Photos of an earlier time suggest the formerly sylvan quality of Alameda County's watershed.

CLEAN UP.

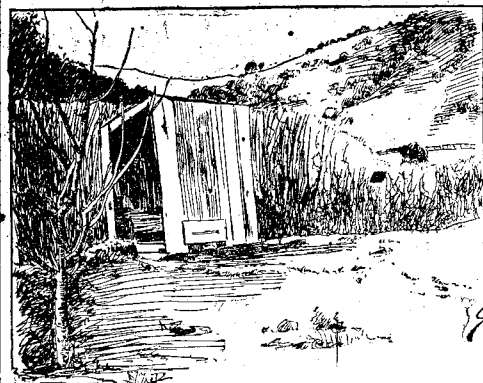
The Board of Health to Contra Costa.

Too Many Barnyards and Water Closets on Creeks.

Some Things Which a Reporter Saw Above Lake Chabot.

A County Health Officer to Help Enforce Cleanliness in the Source of Water Supply.

search of, and he succeeded in finding considerable of it. The Contra Costa Water Company tries to protect its watershed, but it is a task of herculean difficulty. Lake Chabot is about five miles long, and the creeks which flow



OVERHANGING THE CREEK.

A long ordinance creating the position of county health officer was presented to the Board of Supervisors yesterday and referred to the district attorney for examination. The meaning of this is that the Oakland Board of

into it have a length many times as great. Large areas of land have been bought by the water company or by the Pierce family, but they cannot buy everything in the Contra Costa hills, creek is very great. Another object which the health officials look at with alarm is the Redwood schoolhouse with its closets in the rear in close proximity to the creek, though not so near as the one on McCoy's



SILVA'S PIG PEN.

Health and Dr. Mouser, the health officer, and the consequence is they have no control over the places where the confinement of Lake Temescal and



CATTLE ROTTING IN A RUN AT LAKE TEMESCAL

Gold Bars on the street. There was a great deal of excitement on Eleventh street near Broadway at noon to

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DEEDS

Recorded March 18, 1895.

Agella A. Wright, Ala. to Harry M. Wright, Ala. W. Hollis st. 10th W. San Pablo av. and 1055 ft. S. Park av. S. 100x W. 120, Chas. G. H. Henry T. and Mary Renton, Oka. to G. H. A. Hecren, Oka. S. W. Sunny Side av. 27x12 NW Oka. av. NW 6th st. 100, being lots 11 and 12, blk. C. Saylor lot, currently deod. Oka. Tr. \$10
A. M. Honham and W. B. Thomas to Maria Hutz, Oka. N. 10th st. 107.25 E. San Pablo av. E. 50x2 N. 50x2 W. 50, S. 88.00 to beg. pin lot 4 and 5, blk. A. Mrs. M. J. Snow's Prop. QCD, Oka. Tr. \$4
A. and Della McCartney, Ala. to Jane O. Patterson, Chas. Lott 27 and 28, sub. of plot 5 and pin plot 6, Dohr lot, QCD, Bkly. \$60
Chas. A. and Alice C. Talley, Oka. to Antonio Cavazos, S. E. W. 2d. 27 S. Addison. S. 25x W. 120, the S. 24 ft. lot 12, blk. 101, Alston lot, Bkly. \$5
Willis and Alice Salsbury to Sewall Salsbury, Fresno-W. Deakin, 250 N. Prince, N. 60x W. 120, lot 12, blk. 9, Harmon lot, Bkly. \$24
Harriet Searles to Samuel Gray, Oka. Lot 15, Searles lot, Bkly. Tr. \$10
John Hutter, Oka. to Ellen E. Clark, Oka. S. W. 2d. and Lewis sts. E. 25x S. 112, lot 22, blk. G. Bay View Ed. Oka. Tr. \$100
Anna Schneider, Johanna Putzman and Mary Meierdierks, Ala. to C. Meierdierks, Ala. S. E. Hartwood av. and Oak st. E. 100, N. 120, blk. 17, his adjo. to Euclid, except that pin conveyed to City of Ala. for street purposes, Ala. \$10
August Winberg, Ala. to Emma Radford, Ala. S. Sandown or 22d st. 47x E. 21st lot alone said line to 23d st. 50, S. 190 W. 50, N. 140 to beg. lot 29 and 31, blk. 7, Northern Adm. to Bkly. QCD, B. Oka. \$5
Alice and Louise Campbell to Ella Phil-

warfare. The next day Contra Costa Water Company stock jumped from 32 to 55.²¹

The first cooperative action of the two erstwhile rivals was to get the legal rates for water raised. Initially, the city council refused to raise the rates, but at a meeting in February 1898 a group of six councilmen, with the connivance of the companies, pushed through the council a stiff rate increase. The city seethed with resentment, and the following two council meeting nights found Oakland's streets full of unruly crowds while spectators in the packed council galleries hurled insults at the "Shameless Six" who required police protection from lynch-mad street mobs. Despite this public indignation the Shameless Six overrode the mayor's veto, and higher water rates became law.²²

In an attempt to appease public opinion, neither company raised its

rates to the new legal limit until January 1899. At that time Dingee explained that the new rates only taxed such water-wasting luxuries as bathtubs and water closets.²³

It was soon obvious that the two former rivals were doing more than cooperating, and rumors were finally confirmed that a merger was underway. Despite opposition from the Pierce family, which still wanted war to the death with Dingee, Contra Costa Company stockholders voted for a union of the two corporations. In the resulting complicated deal, Oakland Water Company actually sold out to its competitors, but Dingee became the leading Contra Costa Company stockholder. Pierce lost the presidency, and nothing is known about him thereafter. Contra Costa Water Company sheepishly moved back into Dingee's building, and its sign

replaced that of Oakland Water Company. Two years later Dingee took over the corporate presidency once held by his hated rival.²⁴

It was a hollow victory for William Dingee. No longer the genial hero of Oakland, he was tired of petty politics. In 1899 came the crowning blow. His beautiful Fernwood mansion, which had originally plunged him into the water business, went up in flames. Dingee moved to San Francisco where he stained his reputation through association with unsavory politicians. Through adroit business deals, however, he became a nationally known multimillionaire. Then in 1908 his empire suddenly collapsed, apparently a casualty of the financial panic of 1907. He quickly fled the country, but returned to face bankruptcy. He died in poverty in Sacramento in 1941.²⁵ □

(See page 75 for notes.)

ON TOP OF HER WORLD

ANNA MILLS' ASCENT OF MT. WHITNEY

by Leonard Daughenbaugh

For mountaineering men and women, California's Sierra Nevada has posed a unique allure. Boasting a cluster of the highest mountain peaks in the lower forty-eight United States and virtually unexplored until little more than a century ago, this 400-mile long mountain range has challenged nineteenth and twentieth century climbers to test the depth of their physical strength and mental courage.

Native Americans living on the eastern and western approaches to the Sierra were, undoubtedly, the first to travel and climb in the range, but only legends remain to describe the important part it played in their religious and ceremonial lives. For example, legend has it that the Indian maiden Tee-hee-neh rappelled to the base of the Lost Arrow Spire on lodgepole saplings joined together with deer thongs to recover the lifeless body of her despondent lover, Kos-soo-kah.¹

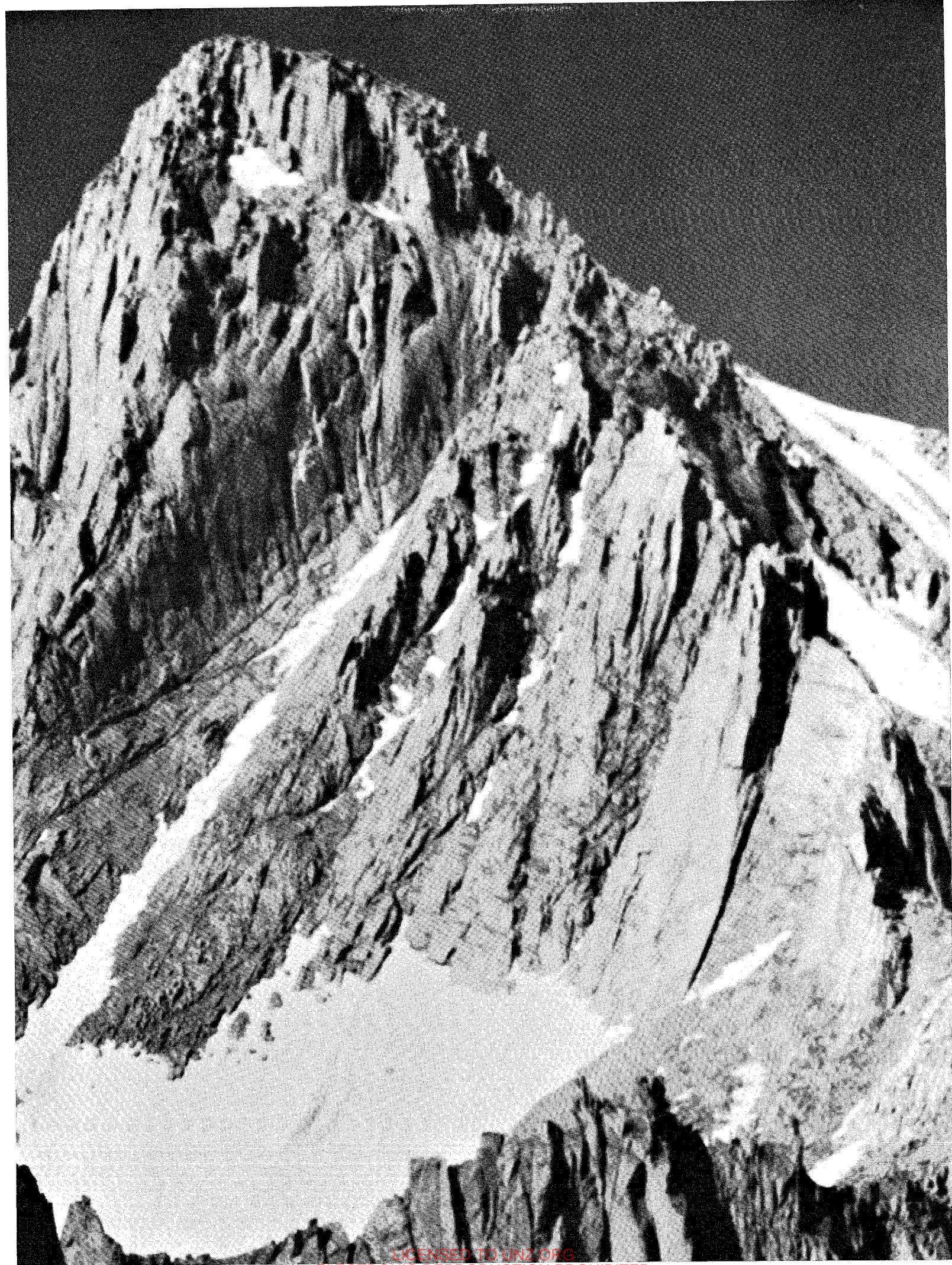
Portuguese sailor Juan Cabrillo gave the name "las sierras nevadas" (the snowy range) to a group of mountains he observed while sailing down the coast of California in 1542. Since he could not have seen the true



Helen Gompertz and two friends, posed with Sierra cups and straw sun hats atop the summit of Mt. Lyell in 1897, were among California's pioneer women mountaineers.

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LEONARD DAUGHENBAUGH COLLECTION



Sierra from the coast, the first Europeans to see the range were members of Captain Pedro Fages' party in 1772. In 1776, members of the Anza expedition to San Francisco Bay also viewed the range. They called it, "una gran sierra nevada," and thus was the Sierra Nevada named.²

Serious exploration of the forty-to-eighty mile wide range waited almost another century, however, until the California legislature directed State Geologist Josiah Whitney to "make an accurate and complete Geological Survey of the state, and to furnish in his report of the same, proper maps and diagrams thereof. . . ."³

The Whitney Survey team entered the Yosemite area in the season of 1863, and the next year moved south to the areas of the Kings, Kern, and San Joaquin rivers. During the summer of 1864, survey members William Brewer and James Gardner made the first ascent of 13,570-foot Mount Brewer (named after William Brewer, the chief assistant of the survey), a peak they thought to be the highest in the Sierra. From that point, however, the men discovered that they were:

. . . not on the highest peak, although we were a thousand feet higher than we anticipated any peaks were. The view was yet wilder than we have ever seen before. Such a landscape! A hundred

*peaks in sight over thirteen thousand feet—many very sharp—deep canyons, cliffs in every direction almost rivaling Yosemite, sharp ridges almost inaccessible to man, on which human foot has never trod—all combined to produce a view the sublimity of which is rarely equaled, one which few are privileged to behold.*⁴

It was a mountaineer's dream. The three highest peaks were named, in descending order of altitude, Mount Whitney (after the leader of the survey), Mount Williamson (after Major Robert S. Williamson of the U.S. Engineers who was in charge of the Pacific Railroad Survey), and Mount Tyndall (after John Tyndall, an English physicist, philosopher, and mountaineer). After this first sighting, two other members of the survey, Clarence King, who would become the first head of the U.S. Geological Survey, and Dick Cotter, the survey's packer, unsuccessfully attempted to ascend the highest peak, 14,494-foot Mount Whitney.⁵

In 1873, three fishermen from the nearby town of Lone Pine, Charley Begole, Johnny Lucas, and Al Johnson, claimed to have made the first ascent of Mount Whitney, which they named "Fisherman's Peak." After considerable controversy during the same year about who really made the first ascent and what the peak's official name should be, the "Immortal Three," as the fishermen became known, received credit, but Mount Whitney remained the peak's official name.

Following the Whitney Survey, most of the Sierra still remained unexplored, and most of the peaks remained unclimbed. Sufficient time was

probably the prime requirement for a serious Sierra mountaineer in this era because there were no automobiles and no roads into the mountains. Excursions frequently took weeks or months and covered hundreds of miles. Most Sierra mountaineers of this early period were professors, teachers, lawyers, or other professional people who could arrange long summer vacations.

Most mountaineers traveled in groups with the assistance of pack animals because of the weight of provisions and equipment. An exception to this rule was John Muir, who usually traveled alone and took only what he could carry with him. During his first attempt to climb Mount Whitney in 1873, he spent the night below the summit dancing in his shirt sleeves to keep from freezing. Of that night, he later said, "The view of the stars and of the dawn on the desert was abundant compensation for all that."⁶ Returning to his base in Independence, he started again on foot two days later and on the third day reached the summit.

In Muir's day, specialized equipment, if it was even carried, consisted of hob-nailed boots and perhaps an ice-axe. A climbing rope might also be used, but, unlike today's nylon ropes that stretch considerably before breaking (and thereby absorb the shock of a fall), ropes were made of hemp which simply breaks under stress. These hemp ropes might also have been utilized to lead the animals and tie equipment on their backs. The main function of the rope was psychological protection. For example, when King and Cotter were returning from their first ascent of Mount Tyndall in 1864, Cotter climbed out of

Leonard Daughenbaugh, a seasoned climber in the Range of Light, is an instructor of Sierra mountaineering subjects for the University of California. His history of Sierra mountaineering from 1827 to 1933, which utilizes first-hand accounts, will be published by Padre Publications in 1985.

sight and lowered the rope to King, saying, "Don't be afraid to bear your weight." After a difficult climb, King reached Cotter, who was:

sitting upon a smooth, roof-like slope where the least pull would have dragged him over the brink. He had no brace for his feet, nor hold for his hands, but had seated himself calmly, with a rope tied around his breast, knowing that my only safety lay in being able to make the climb entirely unaided; certain that the least waver in his tone would have disheartened me, and perhaps made it impossible. . . . To coolly seat one's self in the door of death, and silently listen for the fatal summons, . . . requires as sublime a type of courage as I know.⁷

Climbing rope could have other uses. Stanford University professor Bolton Coit Brown first ascended Mount Clarence King's summit spire with the aid of his ingenuity and his rope. This ascent has been labeled "the finest Sierra climb of the nineteenth century."⁸ His account:

Poised on a narrow ledge, I noosed the rope and lassoed a horn of rock projecting over the edge of the smooth-faced precipice overhead. But the pull on the rope toppled the rock bodily over, nearly hitting me, who could not dodge. So I took out the noose, and having tied a big knot in the rope-end, I threw it repeatedly until this caught in a crack. Then I climbed the rope. I did not dally with the job either. . . . The ugliest place of all was exactly at the last rock, only a few feet from the top. With great caution, and as much deliberation as I had used speed below, I finally looped the rope over an all too slight projection, along the upper edge of the side face of the topmost block, and compelled myself to put one foot in it and lift myself, and so stand, dangling in that precarious sling, until I could set my arms over the top and squirm over.⁹

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While the Sierra is large and the number of nineteenth-century mountaineers was small, smaller still was the number of female mountaineers. The nineteenth-century woman mountaineer needed not only courage with which to face the unknown, but inner strength to go against social convention. Some male mountaineers were more liberal than the times, but as Helen Gompertz LeConte, one of the most proficient and active mountaineers of her time, recalled, this increased the pressure on women to perform:

No greater difficulty had we met than an incredibly steep trail into the canyon, but now the angry, foam-flecked river made the men look grave, and the women

The Whitney Survey Team included (from left) James T. Gardner, Richard Cotter, William Brewer, & Clarence King, who became first head of the U.S. Geological Survey. With packer Cotter, King unsuccessfully attempted to ascend Mt. Whitney in 1864.

silently shiver at the thought of daring to cross it. I say 'silently,' for we were old campers and knew better than to cry before we were hurt. Besides, there was a pride and sense of responsibility in the fact that we were looked upon as comrades by the men, and we must in no wise fall below the standard by increasing their anxieties.¹⁰

There were many things that made it difficult for pioneering female mountaineers to be on an equal basis with men. Most men, for many reasons, felt that women

should be treated differently, even in the mountains. For example, on the first Sierra Club Outing in 1901, it was recommended that: "Women should have one durable waist [blouse] for tramping and one light one for wearing around camp. The skirt can be short, not more than halfway from knee to ankle, and under these can be worn shorter dark-colored bloomers."¹¹ Men had no clothing regulations. Yet, considering the society as a whole, these restrictions were very libertarian. During the second Sierra Club Outing in 1902, Mrs. LeConte reported: "Having for many seasons withstood the surprised gaze of the gaily gowned hotel guests all by myself, I was delighted to have the tables turned and see short skirts and hob-nailed boots look askance at trailing garments."¹²

Twenty-three years prior to the first Sierra Club Outing, pioneering woman mountaineer Anna Mills joined a party from Porterville in Tulare County whose primary goal was to climb Mount Whitney. The group's secondary goal was to put the first women on the summit of the highest peak in the continental United States. Through Mills' fortitude, and that of her three other female companions, both of these goals were realized. Although they probably did not realize it at the time, these four were the first women on record to climb above 14,000 feet in the United States.

Well-known during her lifetime, Anna Mills is an obscure figure today. Most of what is known appears in her obituary, which reads: "Born in New York in 1854, she

moved to California in 1877, where she worked as a school teacher in various schools throughout Tulare County, and took a prominent part in all educational matters throughout her life. She married Robert Johnston and helped raise a stepson, Fred. She traveled extensively and frequently gave of her store of knowledge in lectures before clubs, literary entertainments, and benefits in many towns of the valley. She was very active in the Order of the Eastern Star and was a member of the board of directors of the Visalia Music Club and was responsible in a large degree for the success of the organization."¹³ Her outstanding collection of Indian baskets is still maintained in the Tulare County Library. She was also the first vice-president of the short-lived Mt. Whitney Club, the main purpose of which was "to aid in making Mt. Whitney—the crown of the Sierra—and the adjacent mountain region better known to the world." Membership was restricted to individuals who had climbed Mount Whitney.¹⁴

In 1881, three years after Anna Mills' ascent, a party led by William Wallace, who would become a superior court judge, spent the night on the summit of Mount Whitney. Sharing the peak with them were members of the Langley Party, which included William Crapo, who had also been the guide who led the Mills party.¹⁵ James W.A. Wright, a member of the Wallace party, relates: "Mr. Crapo so impressed us with his account of the heroic perseverances of Miss Mills to make the ascent, she being partially crippled, that we named a peak Mount Mills in her honor."¹⁶ Wallace continues: "It was undecided which peak to name for her, but the final selection

was a long, high peak just south of Loomis Cañon and about four miles south of Mt. Guyot."¹⁷

At the present time, an effort is being made to have this peak officially named Mount Anna Mills, since there is already a Mount Mills located in the Abbot group farther north. A decision by the National and State Boards on Geographic Names is pending.

The following account by Anna Mills of her ascent of Mount Whitney appeared in 1902 in the *Mt. Whitney Club Journal*, the official publication of the Mt. Whitney Club.

While it can be argued that people climb mountains for many different reasons, it appears, that there may be one major reason. It was described in 1900 by Lincoln Hutchinson, a member of a party which intended to make the first ascent of Matterhorn Peak in the Sierra. When they arrived in the unknown area, they had to decide which of two peaks was the Matterhorn and, also, which peak they should climb. Hutchinson reports: "After a long council of war, our decision was made. We had come for glory; our attack should be directed against the peak which was highest and apparently the most difficult of ascent."¹⁸

There are, however, two different types of glory. One is external and gives an individual recognition from others; the other is internal and gives an individual recognition from within. For this reason, most mountaineers—and Anna Mills was no exception—write their accounts in a flowery, flamboyant style in an attempt to convey to their readers the glory, along with the pure joy and exhilaration, of mountaineering. □



The summer of 1878 is memorable to many of the old settlers as one of excursions to the various mountain resorts of Tulare County. While it was yet winter a party from Porterville and vicinity was formed and plans were made during the next few months. As no ladies had yet made the ascent of the real Mt. Whitney, we determined to be the first to stand on its lofty summit. So anxious was I to begin climbing, that I left Porterville two weeks ahead of the party, going as far as Dillon's Mill. There I spent two weeks peering into Nature's beauties, enjoying the invigorating mountain air and the breath of the pines, which seemed to put new blood into my veins, and nothing in the way of climbing or walking did I consider too difficult to undertake.

One pleasant afternoon in early July, the Porterville party, consisting of Judge R. C. Redd and wife, and two sons, George and Robert, Miss Hope Broughton, Miss Mary Martin, N. B. Martin, and Henry E. Ford, arrived at the mill. Soon all was in readiness, and we started on our journey, traveling four miles through a dense forest of redwood, pine, and fir, when we camped on

a little stream. Resuming our journey in the morning, we traveled in an easterly direction through a wild and picturesque country. Higher, higher up we went, and soon began the ascent of Chisel Mountain, one of the loftiest peaks in that section. The ascent required considerable time, and called into requisition the strength of both man and beast.

The surpassing beauty of the view from that peak will always remain with me. In front, and seemingly at our feet, lay Tulare Valley, with its broad lake stretched out before us. The course of Tulare River, Deer Creek, Outside Creek, and various other streams, with their valleys dotted with grain-fields, orchards, and vineyards, could plainly be traced. On either side and behind us peak after peak towered one above the other, some composed of barren rocks and crowned in snow, while others were clothed in living green from base to summit.

We continued our course over a rough mountain-side without any trail, and descended a steep and rocky cliff into a pretty little valley, where we remained two days, feasting on trout. We traveled from here without any trail, over precipi-

Nineteenth-century mountaineers approached the Sierra on trails, not roads, and traveled in groups with pack animals who bore the weight of equipment and provisions for several weeks of camping.

tous mountains, down to Little Kern, along which we journeyed for many miles, sometimes high on the mountain-side and sometimes along the margin of the stream. During the day we saw a deer, but did not succeed in getting him. The sun was still high in the heavens when we reached the sheep-camp of Martin Click, who presented us with a fat mutton ready dressed. (I might add that several years later, Mr. Click married the belle of our party, Miss Hope Broughton.) Crossing Little Kern, we camped for the night on the edge of a flower-decked meadow, hid away amid barren hills. Getting an early start, we crossed a long mountain range with trail scarcely visible. This is the dividing ridge between Little and Big Kern.

Our next camping-place was Trout Meadows, where we spent several pleasant days resting, hunting, and fishing. After making a short side trip to Big Kern Flat on Big Kern River, we pursued a

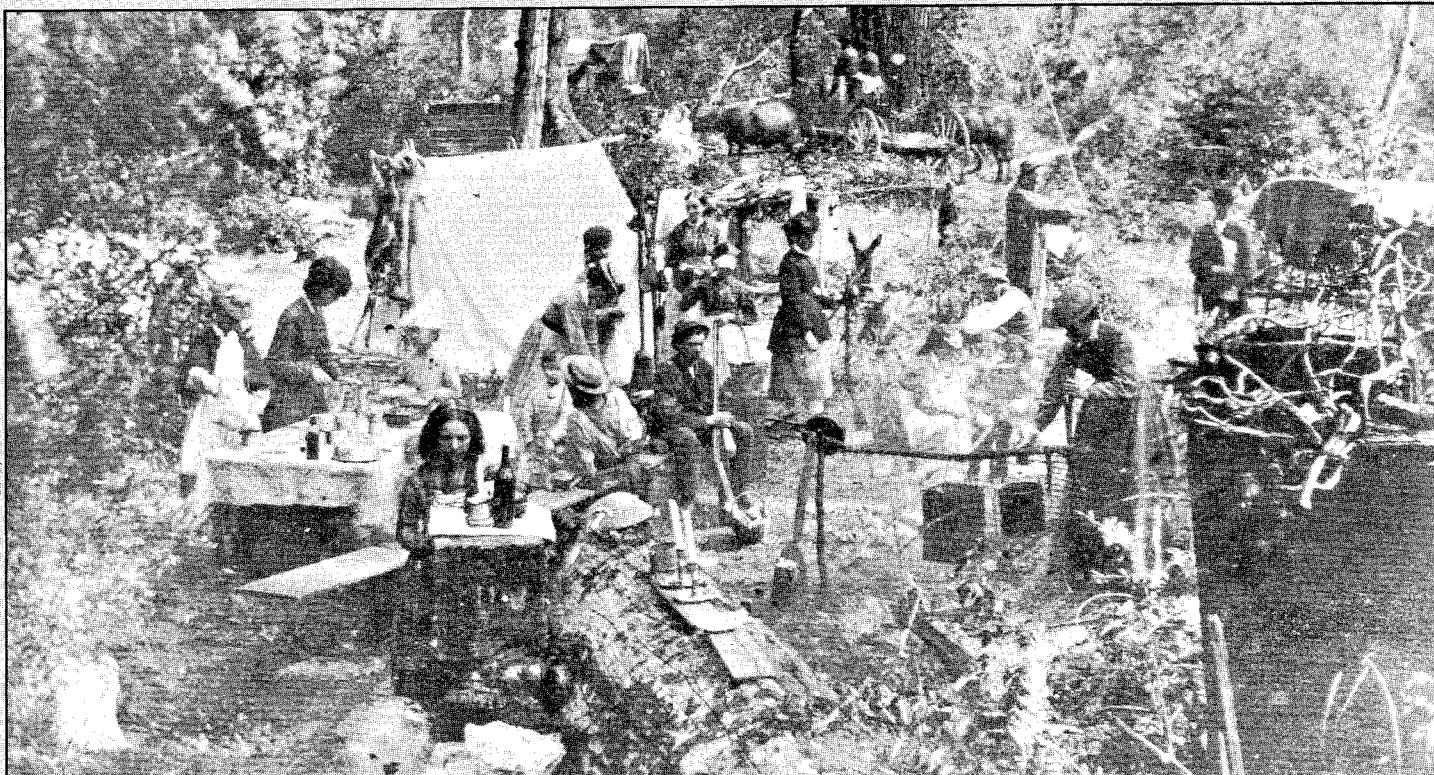


northerly course for about two miles, when we struck the Hockett trail. We were headed for Kern Lakes—and such a rough, rocky, and precipitous trail as we had to pass over! The scenery is grand, and has only to be seen to be appreciated. Lofty mountain-peaks in every direction tower thousands of feet towards the blue heavens, seeming to say that there is something still grander beyond. While wending our way high upon the mountain-side, we saw far below a precipice, over which the water madly rushed, seeking repose in a granite basin a hundred feet below. And Big Kern, with its wealth of ice-cold waters, dashing and foaming over its rocky bed, leaping cataracts, bounding through gaps and gorges, madly pressed its way to the valley below. Words fail to express the joy we felt when we reached the summit and looked down upon Little Kern Lake, a miniature of beauty, nestled so closely to the base of the mountain, as if seeking protection. For a long time we watched the varied reflections in its quiet waters, forgetting for the time the dangerous trail to be traversed before reaching it. As the mountain was so steep, for the

first time we dismounted, considering ourselves safer on foot than on horseback. It was not necessary, however, to do much walking. We just slid.

The little lake is circular in form, and at that time its border was free from tules. The larger lake was oblong, and presented an unsightly appearance, many dead trees and rotten logs lying in its limpid waters. On this lake were several small boats, each manned by two fishermen, who were supplying the Owens River country with trout. We camped at the lower end of Runkle's pasture, near a soda spring, about two and one-half miles above the lakes. We found there over thirty people from various parts of Inyo County—as jolly a crowd as one would wish to meet. Pleasant indeed were the evenings spent around the campfire, and the excursions made to the various points of interest. Parties making hurried trips to Mt. Whitney and vicinity lose half the pleasure of the outing by not making these side excursions, as many of the most interesting places are off from the main trails. We visited the falls of Volcano (or Whitney) Creek. The lower, about a mile east of our camp

at the spring, consists of two falls, the first leap being about eighty feet, and the second sixty, terminating in a fine spray, which swayed to and fro in the breeze like an immense white veil. The constant fall of water has worn into the rock a basin, where we found curiously shaped pieces of wood and bark, worn as smooth as glass by the action of the water. The upper fall, a mile still farther east, or a little north of east, is still grander than the lower, having an unbroken descent of over a hundred feet. Between these two falls we caught the largest trout, some of them measuring fifteen inches. Right here I wish to express my sentiments regarding what I consider an act of vandalism perpetrated by the Board of Supervisors of Tulare County in 1883, in granting a franchise allowing the diversion of the waters of this most beautiful stream into Ramshaw Creek, thereby ruining falls which in many respects rival those of Yosemite. This stream was the real home of the golden trout, and between the falls they grew to an enormous size, reaching a length of from fourteen to sixteen inches. But along comes the water-shark, and, aided and abetted by a Board of Supervisors,



destroys that which lovers of the beautiful have come thousands of miles to see, and the destruction of which benefits few.

William Crapo, of Cerro Gordo, to whom Clarence King gives the honor of being the first man to stand on the summit of Mt. Whitney, was so delighted to learn that we ladies were going to undertake what was then considered a most hazardous climb, that he offered his services as guide, saying that he wished to have the honor of leading the first party of ladies to the top of the United States.

On the morning of August 1st, in company with Luther Anderson, of Porterville, Kit Carson Johnson, and "Prof. Crapo," as we called him, amid cheers of "Godspeed" from the crowd at the spring, we were off for Mt. Whitney. Following the Hockett trail, we forded the river and climbed a steep and very high mountain. After crossing the summit, we traveled with difficulty over angular lava rocks for quite a distance, when we came to Whitney Creek. Continuing our journey, we crossed a branch of this creek on a natural bridge some ten or twelve feet wide. A little farther on, after attaining the summit, we passed

what seemed to be an extinct volcano having a funnel-shaped edge. The whole country shows the effect of volcanic action, several of the mountains being extinct volcanoes. Leaving the Hockett trail near a cinder mountain, and turning to the left, we continued our course in a northeasterly direction up Whitney Creek, over rough and nearly impassable mountains, through dense forests of tamarack. This stream literally swarmed with golden trout. So numerous were they that we could almost catch them with our hands. Still following the creek for some distance, we turned to the right, passing up a mountain of no great altitude, and began the descent into a most singular-looking valley. My feelings when it flashed into view would be hard to describe. Here the scene changed from grand to sublime; here appeared the loftiest mountains we had yet seen.

This desert, or vast plain of sand, called by some an extinct or dry lake, is locked in on all sides by rock-ribbed mountains whose peaks mount upward among the clouds. One could imagine himself descending into the valley of death and having the gates closed after

(Left) Pack-mule trains loaded with cumbersome camping gear and food made it possible for mountaineering parties to explore remote Sierra peaks.

As early as the 1860s California men and women camped in the wilderness for pleasure, not out of necessity.

him.¹⁹ We crossed another mountain and lake-bed of like character, leaving old Mt. Whitney, or Sheep Mountain, several miles to the right, and descended into a meadow, where we camped for the night.

Soon after sunrise on the following morning we were pressing our way over a boggy meadow and along the stream upon which we camped the night before. Then, turning north, we wended our way up a steep and rocky mountain without any trail. It was with difficulty that we gained the summit, having to pass over places where the space between us and eternity could be measured by inches. Still pressing our way over mountains and through boggy meadows, we came to an impassable wall of rock, and were obliged to turn back. We then descended a cliff to the edge of a most beautiful lake, the waters of which were so clear that objects could be plainly seen on the bottom. Added to this were the

reflections of the pink-tipped peaks and cloud-flecked sky, making a scene of rare beauty. Although quite deep, none of the lakes or streams in that locality contain any fish. Slowly we followed the margin of this lake for quite a distance, admiring the beautiful pictures in its quiet waters, then climbed a rocky cliff, making camp about a quarter of a mile from the summit on the opposite side. We were then in full view and about a mile south of what some call Fisherman's Peak, but what Clarence King describes as Mt. Whitney. In appearance it is oblong, having a gap on either side between it and other mountains of nearly equal magnitude.

A short distance east of our camp was a ledge of rocks over one hundred feet high. Along the ridge can be distinctly traced the effect of glacial action, the rocky slopes in many places being worn as smooth as a mirror. Here the books of Nature are open, and on every page is written the handiwork of the Infinite. Here is presented a world of food for thought, and it can be truly said "the half has never yet been told."

Just before reaching camp my horse took a notion to jump over a small stream, very unexpectedly to me, and my back was so severely injured that I could hardly step without experiencing severe pain. Having been lame from early childhood, everybody said it would be utterly impossible for me to climb to the summit of Mt. Whitney. But I was not easily discouraged, and had always held to the idea that I could do what other people could—my surplus of determination making up for what I lacked in the power of locomotion. But now at the eleventh hour, with the Mecca to which I had so long been journeying in full view, to have such a calamity befall me was more than I could bear, and I

gave vent to my feelings in tears. Like Moses, I had gotten where I could see the promised land, but the chances for getting there were indeed few. For a long time success or failure seemed to hang in the balance. Never before had I experienced such a profound feeling of disappointment. In that hour of anguish I remembered my sins, and carefully walking to an obscure place, away up there so near heaven, where none but God could hear, I knelt, facing the great mountain, and prayed—prayed as I had not for years; prayed with the spirit and the understanding also. When I had finished the mountain-top seemed closer, and I returned to camp with a much lighter heart.

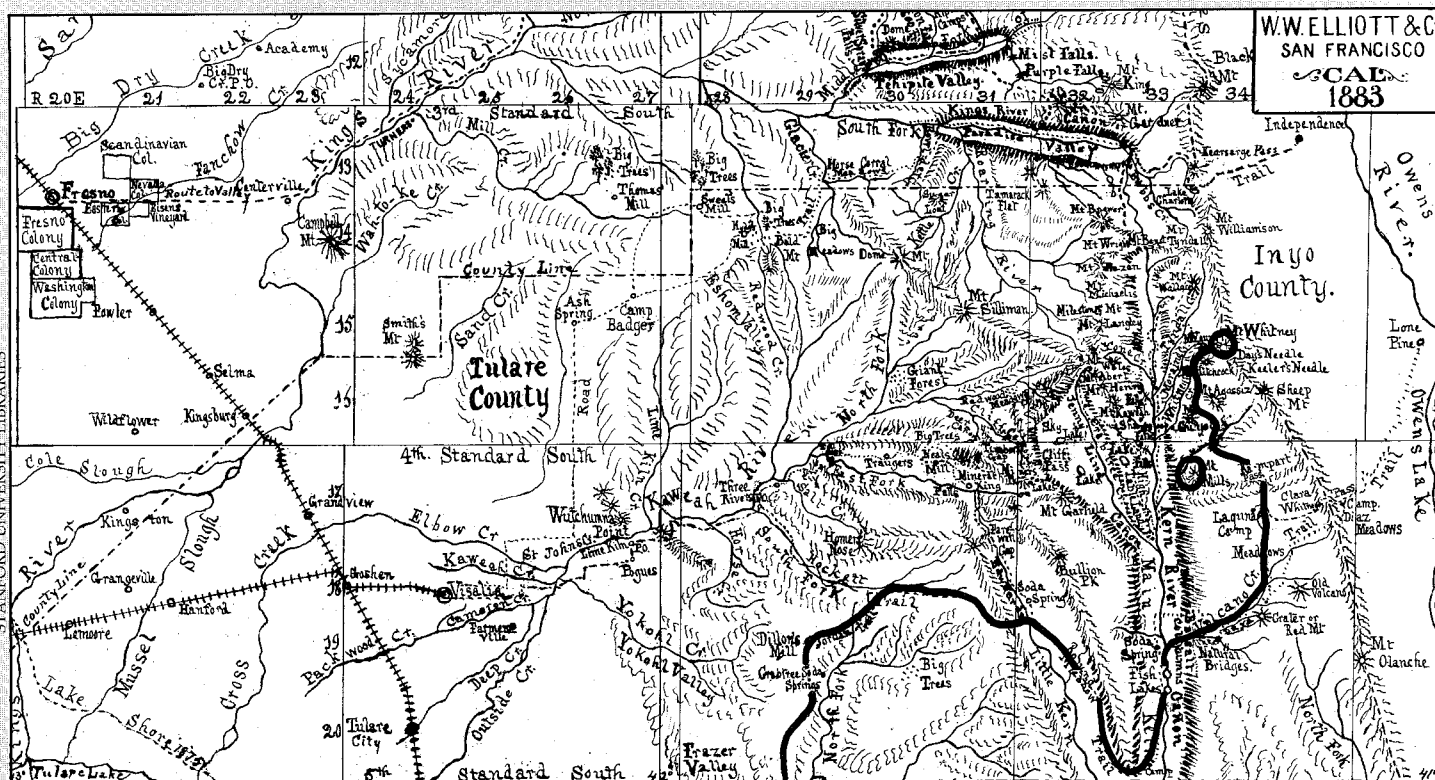
I did not care for supper, neither did I care to join the party in a game of snowball on a huge snow-bank near by. Rest was what I wanted; so I retired early, and Mrs. Redd bathed my back with "Seven Seals, or Golden Wonder."²⁰ I thought if a little was good a good deal would be better, and insisted on "gettin' plenty while I was gettin'." During the night I learned where the "Golden Wonder" came in. Such a blister! The wonder to me was that I had any back left. At peep of day I was up and glad to find that the pain had nearly gone. Eating a hurried breakfast, I started alone, soon after five o'clock, for Guitar Lake, where I was to rest and wait for the other members of the party. Climbing over those rocks was no easy task—and how my back did smart and burn! But I didn't mind such trifles when there was so much at stake; my heart was set on something higher, and nothing short of the highest point would satisfy me. I would reach that and die if need be.

By the time the crowd arrived I was somewhat rested, and we began the ascent of what is called

the "Devil's Ladder," which is nearly perpendicular for a distance of about a quarter of a mile, and from forty to fifty feet wide. Emerging from this, we paused to rest and drink in the far-sighted view. Nestled close to the base of the opposite mountains were many pretty lakelets, and the peaks which before looked so high began to assume smaller proportions. The shapes of the rocks, too, were changed; instead of being oval, like those in the crevices below, they were angular in shape, many of them being very large. Up over these we had to crawl, or leap from one to another. The exertion of climbing, together with the lightness of the air, made breathing difficult. We passed over the snow-belt, about an eighth of a mile through, with ease, and from there on had no trouble in gaining the summit.

Walking over to the monument, we planted the Stars and Stripes on its topmost point (I doubt if "Old Glory" ever waved from a grander flagstaff); then we sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" and "Nearer, My God, to Thee." The acoustic properties being so perfect, we sang with ease, notwithstanding the lightness of the air.

The supreme joy I felt when I realized that my prayer had been answered, and that I was at last really standing on the summit of Mt. Whitney, knew no bounds. For the time being I forgot that I ever was tired; one glance was enough to compensate for all the trials of the trip. The day was perfect, and so were the surroundings. How strange it seemed to be standing on the highest point in the United States, and looking off for a distance of seventy miles down into Death Valley, the lowest point! How strange, too, it seemed, after spending so many weeks in the



mountains, to look up and see nothing but the blue-vaulted heavens! Oh, what an inspiration it was to look from that magnificent peak on the grand panorama of mountains, reaching from beyond the Yosemite to San Bernardino! Range after range in every direction, peak on peak, comprising almost limitless forms, rise one above the other, each striving for the mastery. Stepping near the eastern edge, I looked down a sheer descent of three thousand feet on a small lakelet, partially covered with snow and ice. Still farther east lay Owens River Valley, with its sparkling lake, winding river, and golden fields of grain. Every road and trail could be plainly seen, and, looking through the glasses, we could see the buildings at Lone Pine and Independence.

After feasting for several hours on the glory of our surroundings, we returned to the monument, where we examined the records of Clarence King, Lieutenant Wheeler and party,²¹ and others. We found recorded there the names of several people from Inyo County and a number from the Eastern States, but only one Tularean—Frank Knowles, who accompanied King on his first

trip. We also found several pieces of silver money, but I have heard it hinted that none of it has been seen since our party left! After placing our record in the monument, we very reluctantly took a last lingering look, then descended the mountain, reaching camp just before sunset.

Early the following morning we turned our faces homeward, traveling over an unknown route, rough in the extreme, towards the headwaters of Kern River. Before the sun was very high we came in sight of the river about four miles below us, but how to get there was the puzzling question. It seemed almost impossible. But we were accustomed to overcoming difficulties, and did not propose to give up at this stage of the game. All hands dismounted and took it on foot down the mountain, over rocks, through brush, and up cliffs, which seemed impassable for an animal (or an Anna Mills) to travel over. After trying several routes, and being compelled each time to turn back on account of precipitous bluffs and impassable streams, we at last found a pass and descended to the river, where we camped for the night.

We made the rest of our trip home

A High Sierra map drawn in 1883 shows Mt. (Anna) Mills several peaks to the south of Mt. Whitney (below Inyo County label). Stanford University Libraries

by way of Kern River Cañon, Soda Springs, and Dillon's Mills, arriving at Porterville on the evening of August 9th.

To me it seems that the grandest mountain scenery in this State is Kern River Cañon.

In conclusion, let me say that since my visit to Mt. Whitney, nearly a quarter of a century ago, it has been my privilege to visit the various mountain regions in this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Alaska to the Rio Grande, and to scale the volcanic mountains of Hawaii. I have also crossed the watershed of the Bavarian Alps, traversed the Austrian Tyrol, visited the German, Italian, and Swiss Alps, and gazed with admiration on the beauties of the Matterhorn and Jungfrau. Yet I can candidly say that I have never seen, nor do I ever expect to see, a picture so varied, so sublime, so awe-inspiring, as that seen from the summit of Mt. Whitney on the third day of August 1878.²² □

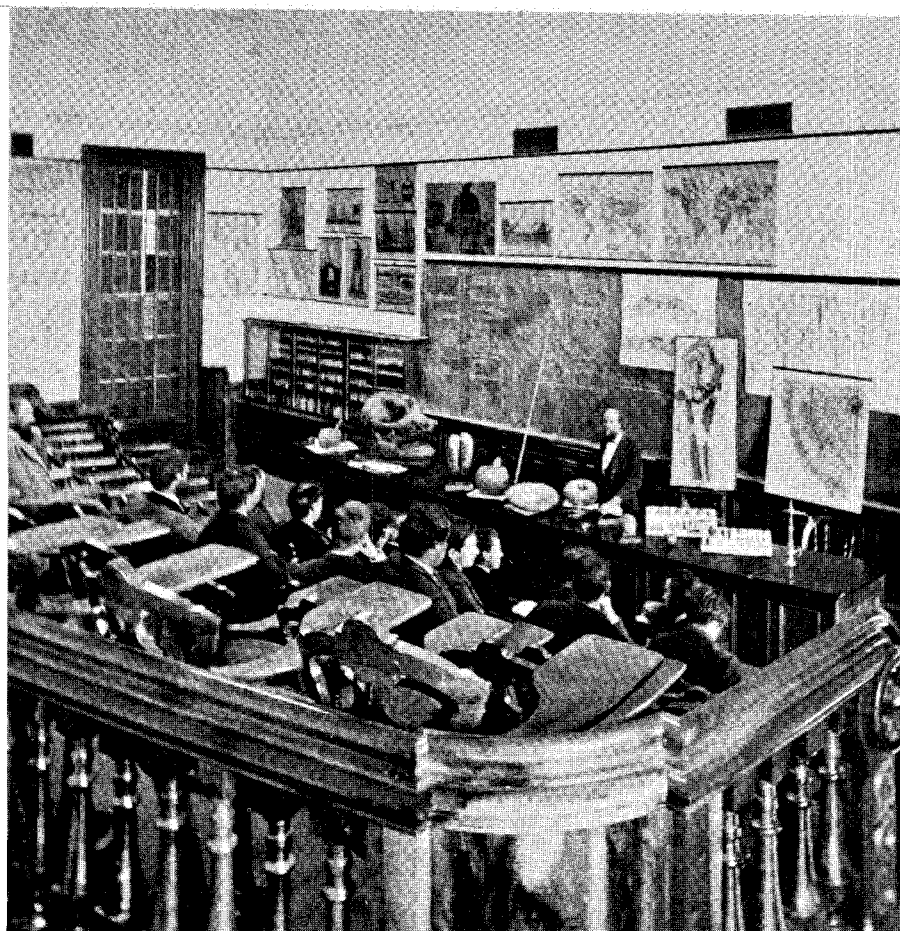
(See page 76 for notes.)

THE FIFTH CLASS

A 19TH CENTURY FORERUNNER OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

In 1870 the new
University of Cali-
fornia augmented its
tiny student body
with Hispanics

by David J. León and
Daniel McNeill



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Affirmative action in higher education seems a recent means to a modern goal. Colleges offer special admissions and tuition policies to minorities in order to encourage their enrollment and compensate for past discrimination. These programs have had far-reaching impact. For instance, minority students were virtually absent from the University of California until the introduction of affirmative action about two decades ago.¹

Most people are surprised to learn that as early as 1870 the University of California experimented with an enrollment program with similarities to affirmative action: the Fifth Class. The Fifth Class was a preparatory department or adjunct beneath the Fourth (or freshman) Class which helped individuals study for and pass the university entrance exam. Preparatory departments were common in the age before widespread public education, and many schools—Columbia University, Illinois College, and Pomona College, among others—used them to help boost enrollment and raise needed revenues.² The Fifth Class

Class size at the new tuition-free University of California remained small despite its modern, science-oriented curriculum. Joseph LeConte is shown lecturing to fifteen young men in this 1874 photograph by Eadweard Muybridge.

was thus a precursor of affirmative action rather than a lineal ancestor. Although it was created to augment the student body overall rather than to aid minorities in particular, it offered regulations tantamount to special admissions and tuition for Hispanics, and thus bears genuine resemblance to present-day affirmative action. The Fifth Class was also controversial. Its birth involved a marathon struggle, yet its success was unqualified. When the University's Regents terminated the popular program after two short years, minority enrollment nearly ceased.

The Fifth Class began as the preparatory department of the immediate predecessor of the University of California, the private College of California. The college was located in Oakland, on the property bounded by Harrison, Franklin, Twelfth, and Fourteenth streets, now part of downtown. Its preparatory department, the College School, occupied Brayton Hall and

boasted "well-ventilated and warm" schoolrooms, dormitories, a gymnasium, and spacious playgrounds.³ Because the college entrance exam stressed mastery of the ancient classics, preparatory pupils spent their time with such works as Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Caesar's *Commentaries*. In 1867–68, the College School enrolled 301 students while the College of California itself had but 21, a reflection of just how difficult the examination was.

Of the 301 preparatory school pupils, 30 or almost ten percent were Spanish-surnamed, a greater proportion of Hispanics than inhabited the state. The school in fact recruited them. For instance, a newspaper advertisement in Spanish listed instructors and costs, described facilities, and extolled the school's virtues: "Su situación central, accesible, saludable y hermosa en su escena natural, presenta grandes ventajas morales y sociales." ("Its central, accessible, healthful, and attractive location, in a natural setting, offers great moral and social advantages.")⁴

In contrast to California's other minorities at this time, Hispanics were well-placed to avail themselves of this preparatory department. While blacks, Chinese, and Indians were restricted to inferior, segregated primary schools, Hispanic pupils were allowed into white classrooms and could thus profit from better funding, staffing, and curricula. Furthermore, although many Hispanics had been disenfranchised of their wealth and land over the years, some retained sufficient capital to support children at college. They maintained an interest in culture, and their numbers at the College School made possible

a Spanish literary society, the Sociedad Literaria Castellana de California.⁵

In the fall of 1869, the University of California opened its doors on the physical site of the former college. At the same time it severed its link with the College School. The school, however, remained in existence across the street as a private academy and tried to hint brightly at affiliation with the university by adopting a new name: the State University School. The number of Hispanic students in 1869–70 grew to 36 out of 327, about eleven per cent, and some were among the most prominent members of the class.⁶

Meanwhile, the university had a problem. Though it was tuition-free and offered a modern science-oriented curriculum, it had enrolled only forty students, far too few to rank it among the most prestigious schools in the country. Harvard and Cornell had student populations in the hundreds at this time, and many Californians wished their new university to keep pace.⁷ Small enrollment also betrayed the school's mandate as a public university to educate the populace and catalyze economic growth in the state.

The California state school system could not supply enough qualified students, for it was inchoate in 1870. Though the state maintained public schools, attendance was not compulsory, and absenteeism was estimated at forty per cent. Of the nine high schools in California—in San Francisco, Sacramento, Nevada City, San Jose, Grass Valley, Vallejo, Oakland, Santa Clara, and Stockton—the latter four were less than

three years old, and Santa Clara was not fully operational until as late as 1873. Several private academies offered alternative instruction, but their caliber varied widely.⁸

A preparatory department thus seemed desirable. In December 1869, the Regents requested the California legislature for funds and authority to create such a department. The legislature promptly complied. The Regents then passed the *fait accompli* to the faculty for its approval, and a power struggle ensued which would help define the relationship of Regents to faculty for decades to come.

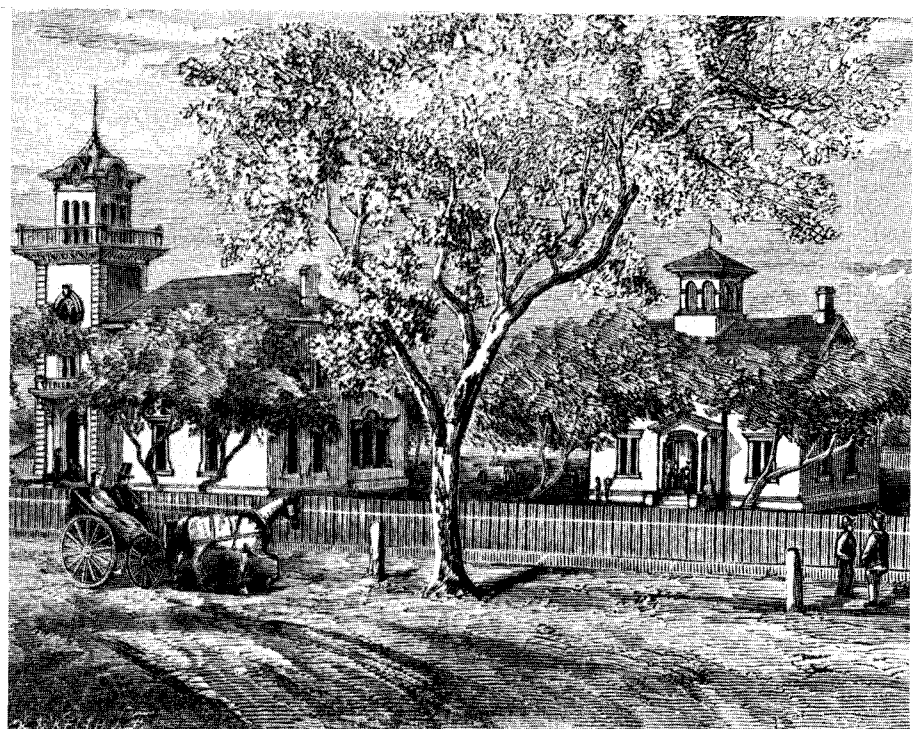
The Regents first asked the faculty if it thought a preparatory department expedient and, if so, how it should be organized. Despite state authorization and monies, on January 17, 1870, the faculty responded that a preparatory department would not be expedient. Professor John LeConte, acting president of the university, explained this position. A preparatory department could only be a stopgap, he said, since the ultimate goal was a functional network of high schools throughout the state. But such a stopgap was unnecessary in any case, he went on, since the state could build up its high school system as quickly as the university could organize a preparatory department. This questionable contention was not rendered any more plausible by the presence of the State University School right across the street. In essence, a preparatory department already existed.⁹

The Regents did not retreat. In April, they ordered the faculty to devise a structural framework to "bring the different University Schools in direct relation with the Grammar

Schools of the State."¹⁰ The Academic Senate responded grudgingly. It issued a set of principles holding that a preparatory department was in fact expedient, but that it should be temporary and should not lower admissions standards. Its pupils should be at least fifteen, and any allocation of funds should await evaluation of the department's needs. Throughout the spring and into the summer of 1870, the Regents waited for the practical plan they had requested. None was forthcoming.

On August 16, the Regents elected Henry Durant president of the university. Although neither first nor second choice for the post, he was nonetheless an apt selection because he was intensely committed to making the university a great public institution. He had taught in Oakland since 1853, first at his Contra Costa Boys Academy and later at the College of California, and he was a strong advocate of transforming the State University School into a preparatory department.¹¹

The faculty, however, ignored the significance of this appointment. Soon after, Regent John W. Dwinelle decided to address the faculty in person. Author of the university's Or-



ganic Act of 1868 and a prominent San Francisco attorney, Dwinelle had championed universal education and from 1872 to 1874 had represented the black community in *Ward v. Flood*, its challenge to the constitutionality of California's segregated schools. Dwinelle brought all his stature to bear on the faculty, reminding professors that the state needed desperately to popularize the university and that the Regents therefore wanted a preparatory department. When he finished, the Academic Senate voted to start one. The Fifth Class had come formally into being.

But with fall term less than a month away, the faculty had still done nothing to organize the Fifth Class. Unwilling to endure further procrastination, the Regents' Committee on Instruction, made up of Dwinelle, John Hager, Richard Hammond, and State Superintendent of Public Instruction Oscar P. Fitzgerald, took the initiative and decided fundamental matters such as class hours and attendance policy. The Committee set Fifth Class entrance exams for September 21 and 22, and again at a later date, for applicants inconvenienced by the short notice.¹²

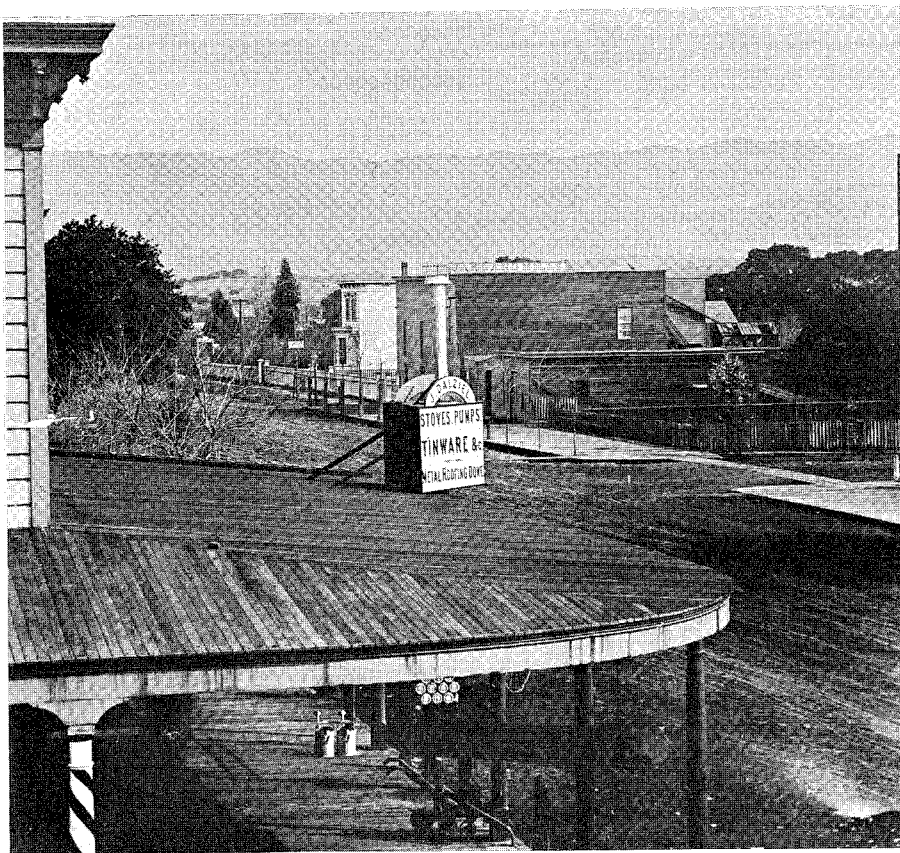
The Regents appointed George Tait of the State University School as Master of the Fifth Class. In addition to teaching and supervising, Tait agreed to recruit pupils, house

The preparatory department of the University of California's predecessor, the College of California (above), groomed students to master the ancient classics. Far from Athens, the school's home, Oakland, offered aspiring students only unpaved streets and wooden sidewalks (right view: at 14th and Broadway c. 1869).

them at the school for \$30 per month, furnish academic aid to boarders in the evenings, and find competent instructors in the modern languages. In return, he received \$250 per month. (In this era, apothecaries earned about \$40, butchers about \$35, and undertakers about \$80 per month. University professors, however, made between \$200 and \$300.) Tait assured the Regents that the engagement could end "whenever your Honorable Body shall determine that the Fifth Class is not flourishing, but is, on the contrary, an incubus on the University."¹³

The Class had certain policies which encouraged Hispanic enrollment and resembled affirmative action. One involved tuition. Unlike the university, the Fifth Class charged a tuition of \$4 per month, but the faculty could waive this fee if a pupil lacked funds or the chance to obtain a free public education elsewhere. In March 1871, for instance, six young men entered the university in this way. The disadvantaged thus had access to a rudimentary form of financial aid.

David J. León, a former Assistant Professor at the University of California at Berkeley, teaches in the Department of Sociology at California State University, Fresno. Daniel McNeill, a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and Harvard Law School, is a writer based in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The authors wish to express their gratitude to Jorge Garza and J.R.R. Kantor for their assistance in opening the University of California archives to this research.



Another key feature involved admissions. In December 1870, the Regents eliminated the exam requirement for individuals from outside California.¹⁴ Since Mexicans preponderated among the out-of-staters, this measure had the effect of recognizing their crucial need to master a second language. The Fifth Class thus showed special flexibility toward persons who might otherwise have more difficulty entering the university because of poverty, lack of access to free schools, or non-Anglo cultural background.

Hispanics made up a significant portion of the first Fifth Class in 1870–71. Of its eighty-eight pupils, sixteen, or almost twenty per cent, had Spanish surnames. Of these sixteen, twelve had attended the State University School the year before, a factor which may have mitigated the effects of the class's sudden inception. There were twelve Mexican students, all but two of whom had come from the nearby regions of Sonora and Baja California.

The four remaining Hispanics were Chicanos. They bore the names of some of the most illustrious Californio families: Fred Alvarado, San Diego; M. Moreno, San Diego; Ynes Pacheco, Pachecoville (Pacheco); and B.J. Peralta, Fruit

Vale (Oakland). Juan Bautista Alvarado had been governor of California under Mexican rule, when he had possessed vast tracts of land.¹⁵ The Pachecos had long been active in California politics, and Romualdo Pacheco, elected lieutenant-governor in 1871, served briefly as governor in 1875. The Peraltas once owned the very ground beneath Berkeley, Alameda, and Oakland, but squatters, confidence men, and lawyers slowly reduced their holdings to tiny plots. (Lawsuits over the Peralta land did not end until 1910.)

The university itself enrolled but seventy-eight individuals in 1870–71, and only one was a minority. He was Manuel Corella, a part-time student from Tenuris, Sonora, who resided in Oakland. In addition to studying in the university, Corella taught Spanish to the Fifth Class from as early as January 1871, to judge from a bill he later submitted to the Regents.¹⁶ In the fall of 1872, he became instructor of Spanish in the university, the first minority ever to teach there. He was apparently a member of the class of 1874, and attended a graduation party in June where he offered a toast to the ladies. But after that date Corella drops from university records. Of thirteen persons to graduate in the

year 1874, none was a minority.

Like most boarding schools, the Fifth Class had a paternalistic atmosphere, and its pupils, or "Fifers," led lives of regimentation. They arose around 7 A.M., donned military-style uniforms designed for them by two professors who were alumni of West Point, and then ate breakfast in the dining hall. The quality of its food was apparently a conversation piece. "Shout for joy, O ye 'Fifers'!" the *University Echo* cried in hallelujah when the dining services finally shut down.¹⁷

The pupils attended classes from 9 A.M. to noon and from 2 P.M. to 4 P.M. They had to study at least one foreign language from among Latin, Greek, French, German, and Spanish. The mathematics department offered a progressive sequence of courses in arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. The potpourri department of English, grammar, and history taught penmanship, reading, grammar, spelling, United States history, and ancient and modern geography.¹⁸

At the noon break and after 4 P.M., students could use the playground, but adventures beyond school boundaries were frowned upon. On February 3, 1871, the Academic Senate dismissed from the class five young Anglos who had "absented themselves, after sermonstrance." It is difficult to prove a connection, but at the same meeting the Senate resolved that faculty members had the duty "to report students found in public drinking-houses and billiard saloons."¹⁹ Most of the boarders ended their day with after-dinner study, some under the special tutelage provided by Tait, until their bedtime at 9 or 10 P.M.

After the 1870–71 academic year,

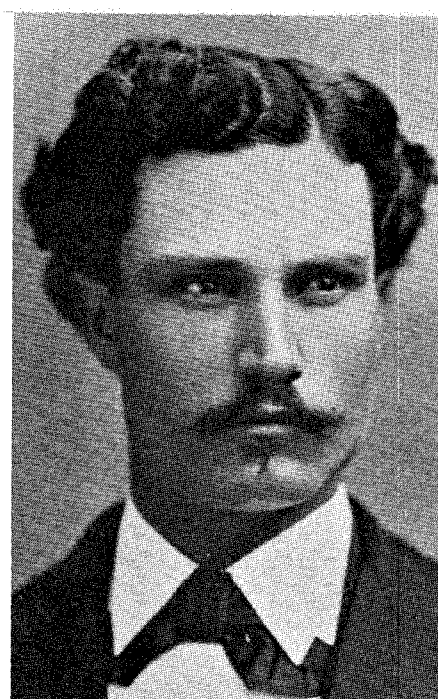
many Fifth Class students took the university entrance exam. Of the eighty-eight enrolled, fifty-four passed and entered the freshman class for 1871–72. One was a Hispanic, Francisco Urriolagoitia, a Sonoran who lived in San Francisco. For reasons impossible to ascertain, Urriolagoitia requested an honorable dismissal that fall, and the Regents granted it on December 20, 1871.²⁰

In its second year, 1870–71, Fifth Class enrollment jumped from 88 to 262,²¹ probably because of greater public awareness of the program. The number of Hispanics, however, declined from sixteen to twelve. Four Mexican students and the two San Diegans, Alvarado and Moreno, had departed, to be replaced by three new pupils from the Bay Area: A. and M. Bernal of Pleasanton and E.A. Garrido of Walnut Creek. The Bernals also came from a notable Californio line.

As a preparatory institution, the Fifth Class succeeded splendidly, and thus it is surprising that the Regents disbanded it after only two years. The first intimation of trouble appeared in the summer of 1871, when George Tait requested \$1,590 from the Regents to cover student nonpayment of fees. An investigation commenced. On December 12, 1871, in a move which may have indicated a new attitude toward the Fifth Class, the Regents decided to close its "hash shop" or dining hall. When the Committee on Instruction finally reported to the Regents on the nonpayment problem on January 5, 1872, it recommended that fees be collected in advance.²² This pragmatic solution should have ended all fear of student default, yet concerns about Fifth Class finances



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continued to surface for the six months left to it.

On April 30, 1872, Henry Durant, now age seventy, resigned as president of the university, and Daniel Coit Gilman was named as his successor. Though Durant's departure officially stemmed from ill health, he went on to serve two terms as Oakland's mayor before dying suddenly in the midst of a speech to a literary society. His resignation deprived the Fifth Class of a highly-placed benefactor at a critical time.

Events moved quickly. On May 24, 1872, the Regents requested the Committee on Instruction to look into the Fifth Class. On June 10, Regent Dwinelle formally asked the Academic Senate whether the class should be terminated. The faculty replied that it should continue for one more year, or for a shorter time if it failed to sustain itself financially. The June 10 meeting of the Senate, at which George Tait offered a financial accounting of the Fifth Class, was the last he would attend. He missed the next six in a row, and on July 23, 1872, he resigned.²³

The abolition effort culminated at the Regents' meeting of July 16, 1872. The Committee on Instruction recommended ending the Fifth Class, and a resolution to this effect was introduced. Regent Samuel McKee countered with a motion that the Fifth Class continue under the direct control of the Academic Senate and that it collect all fees in ad-

Regent John Dwinelle (left) urged the establishment of a Fifth Class, reminding professors that the state needed to popularize the university.

The university's only minority student in 1870–71 was Manuel Corella (right). He taught Spanish to the Fifth Class and became the university's first minority instructor.

vance. This latter proposal was defeated 8–6, and the original resolution to halt the program then passed.²⁴

What inspired the Regents to shut the Fifth Class down after so short yet so productive a span? First, the Regents were a different body in 1872 than in 1870, when they created the Class. Durant had gone, and another Fifth Class advocate, Oscar Fitzgerald, had been defeated as superintendent of public instruction by Henry Bolander, an opponent of the Class.²⁵ Since these three men specialized in preparatory education and held important positions, they presumably wielded influence on the matter. But the difference in their votes alone could have saved the class.

There were underlying factors as well. From the outset, the university professors had reacted negatively to the class, probably because it increased their workload. They had already voiced objections to having to give evening lectures in San Francisco, and they did not assume their duties to the Fifth Class with enthusiasm. Their persisting expressions of irritation may eventually have made the class seem an an-



noyance to the Regents, who in any case had already proven their authority over the faculty by imposing it.

Moreover, the Regents planned to move the university to Berkeley in the fall of 1873 to the twin structures of North and South halls then being built beside Strawberry Creek. (South Hall still stands, near the buildings named for Dwinelle and LeConte.) The Regents had obtained specific grants from the legislature to fund this construction, and they may have balked at seeking even more money to house a swelling preparatory department. And while a Fifth Class across the street from the university was convenient, one located five miles away was not.

Finally, the very success of the Fifth Class may have abbreviated its career. The class had more students than the university and funneled many into it. But once university enrollment reached a certain level, administrators likely felt the Fifth Class had served its purpose. In addition, the preparatory school's great size may have embarrassed the university. Many individuals believed that the university should be both public and elite, theoretically open to all yet limited to the best, a circle of minds whose radiance would crown and proclaim the splendor of the Golden State. However, in 1871–72

In 1874 the new Berkeley campus held (from left) South and North Hall. (Visible in the distance is Yerba Buena Island, the Golden Gate, and Marin County.)

it resembled an institutional centaur: half high school, half university. The exemplar universities of the East—Harvard and Yale—did not teem with “Fifers,” and some thought the young University of California should not either, even if it had reason to.

Termination had serious consequences for Hispanics. Those who did not pass the 1872 entrance exam obviously had to look elsewhere for instruction. While three Chicanos and four Mexicans did pass it and thereby earned the right to enter the freshman class of 1872–73, none chose to do so. Perhaps the university, growing apace and underwritten by the state, encouraged Hispanics less actively than such private colleges as the College of California, or perhaps Hispanics wanted an institution with a greater Spanish-speaking presence, such as one of the many local Catholic colleges. In any case, after they left, Manuel Corella again became the only Hispanic student on campus.

Abolition of the Fifth Class virtually halted the growth of the univer-

sity. Enrollment in 1872–73 was 185, up 22 from the 153 students of the previous year, and enrollment in 1873–74 was 191, up only 6 students.²⁶ The university had destroyed the public school system's ladder to its gates. Though primary schools became state-financed in 1874 and attendance was made compulsory, high schools remained unassisted and optional. By 1876, California had fifteen high schools, and by 1889, only twenty-one.²⁷ Not until 1891 did the legislature provide for the formation of county high school districts, and not until 1903 did the state offer to fund them through its taxes. University Professor of Agriculture Ezra Carr noted in 1875, “The lower stages of public education are yet imperfect and unorganized. To expect to have a great University without a good proportion of high schools . . . seems to me preposterous.”²⁸

Obviously, the Fifth Class was not a genuine affirmative action program. It cultivated minorities as part of an effort to boost overall enrollment rather than as a goal in itself. Yet in its admissions and tuition policies and its successful induction of Hispanics into the university's sphere, the Fifth Class prefigured the thrust of affirmative action on campuses today. After its termination, minorities would not return to the university in significant numbers for almost a century. Not until 1964 and the Educational Opportunity Program—another realistic effort to “bring the different University Schools in direct relation with the Grammar Schools of the State”—did minorities begin to attend California's free, public university as a group.²⁹ □

(See page 77 for notes.)



by Arthur A. Hansen, Betty E. Mitson
and Sue Kunitomi Embrey

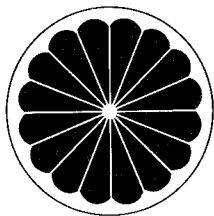
DISSIDENT HARRY UENO



UENO COIL 1A



REMEMBERS MANZANAR



"Free Harry!" shouted Jimmy Nakamura in the riot scene of the 1976 television movie *Farewell to Manzanar*, the first

full-length cinematic treatment of the World War II evacuation of Japanese Americans.¹ The original riot on which the scene was based had occurred at the Manzanar camp in 1942 to protest what the internees regarded as the unjust arrest of a dissident cook named Harry Ueno. Nakamura, at age eighteen, had participated in the actual riot. Now, thirty-three years later, he was an actor in its dramatization on location at a prison near Oakland. In the movie, some of the names were changed, and Nakamura was supposed to chant "Free Joe!" but "with all the torches and the running of the mob," explained Nakamura, "I found myself shouting, 'Harry! Harry!' When the guns started firing, I felt the same terror. It really

At age 11, American-born Harry Ueno attended school in Hiroshima, Japan.

Dust, intense heat, severe cold, and wind were daily fare for the 10,000 evacuees, most from Los Angeles County, held in Inyo County's Manzanar.

hit me the next morning when I woke up. I cried for hours; the tears wouldn't stop."²

During the Second World War, more than 110,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were American citizens, were evacuated from the West Coast by Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, commanding general of the Western Defense Command responsible for the area's security. Under the aegis of Executive Order 9066, issued on February 19, 1942, by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the evacuated Japanese Americans, four-fifths of whom were from California, were incarcerated in ten hastily constructed relocation centers situated in America's barren hinterlands and administered by the War Relocation Authority (WRA). Both the evacuation and incarceration deviated from the American constitutional principle of due process of law and the nation's democratic commitment to fair and equal treatment of citizens and law-abiding aliens. But the government defended the measures as purportedly in the interest of the nation's internal security and the personal safety of the Japanese American population.

Probably the best known of the

camps, Manzanar and Tule Lake, were in California. (The remaining eight were distributed throughout the states of Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.) Manzanar, the first camp to be put into operation in March 1942, was located in the Owens Valley, bound on the west by the towering Sierra Nevada and on the east by the Inyo and White mountains. Some 225 miles northeast of Los Angeles between the two small Inyo County communities of Lone Pine and Independence, this camp housed 10,000 evacuees, chiefly from Los Angeles County. California's other camp, Tule Lake, was constructed upon a dry lake bed just south of Klamath Falls, Oregon, near the Modoc County hamlets of Newell and Tulelake. It was converted in the fall of 1943 to a segregation center chiefly for internees and their families designated "disloyal" on the basis of an ill-conceived and poorly administered loyalty questionnaire. In March 1946, Tule Lake was the last of the ten camps to close.

Despite the intervening years and the opening of previously sealed government records, it is little known that Americans in all ten

camps persistently resisted the conditions of their imprisonment. Internees regularly repudiated the government's Americanization program and experienced a resurgence in Japanese cultural values; they re-

Arthur A. Hansen is Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton, where he directs the Japanese American Oral History Project of CSUF's Oral History Program. Since 1980, he has served as editor of the Oral History Association's journal, the *Oral History Review*. His area of research specialization concerns resistance activity during the Japanese American Evacuation.

Betty E. Mitson is a free-lance oral historian/writer. A former director of the CSU-Fullerton Japanese American Oral History Project, she is the coauthor of two books treating the wartime evacuation experience of Japanese Americans—*Voices Long Silent: An Oral Inquiry into the Japanese American Evacuation* (1974) and *Valiant Odyssey: Herbert V. Nicholson In and Out of America's Concentration Camps* (1978).

Sue Kunitomi Embrey is the founding chairperson of the Manzanar Committee, which spearheaded a successful campaign to designate the site of the Manzanar War Relocation Center (where during World War II she was incarcerated and served as the editor of the *Manzanar Free-Press*) as a State Historical Landmark. Her publications include *The Lost Years: 1942–46* (1972).

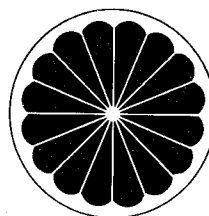
All three authors are currently involved in preparing a book-length publication about the experiences of Harry Ueno entitled *Manzanar Memoir*.



jected WRA-imposed political and economic bureaucracy while rejuvenating prewar Japanese patterns of community leadership; and they redeployed themselves from labor projects selected by camp administrators to those regarded valuable by internees. Because this type of resistance was daily and incremental, rather than occasional and dramatic, it has gone largely unnoticed.

More visible, both at the time and later, were displays by internees of open resistance such as strikes and riots. But most historians of this resistance have been preoccupied with illustrating its beneficial or baneful consequences for the present rather than first explaining the activities in the context of the times. The result is a distortion of historical reality. Historians have traditionally relied on written documents to disclose the past, but new and equally revealing documents can be generated through interviews with survivors who experienced, that is who participated in or observed, significant events such as riots and strikes.

One individual who experienced both a riot at Manzanar (in which he was a central figure) and a strike at Tule Lake (in which he was not involved) was the selfsame cook noted above, Harry Y. Ueno. Accordingly, under the aegis of the Japanese American Oral History Project at California State University, Fullerton, Sue Kunitomi Embrey, also a former internee at Manzanar, and Arthur A. Hansen interviewed Ueno, who is bilingual, at his home in San Jose about his key role in the Manzanar riot, one of the most renowned examples of internee resistance during the entire Japanese American Evacuation.



In the evening of December 5, 1942, some masked internees at the Manzanar War Relocation Center assaulted Fred

Tayama, a *Nisei* (American born), severely enough to hospitalize him. Camp authorities arrested thirty-five-year old Harry Ueno, a *Kibei* (a *Nisei* educated in Japan) who was head of the camp's Mess Hall Workers Union. Ueno had formed this group a few months earlier to represent Manzanar's 1,500 *Kibei*-dominated mess hall workers more effectively than did the Japanese-American Citizens League (JACL)-inspired Manzanar Work Corps chaired by Tayama. Without delay, authorities removed Ueno from the camp to the jail of the nearby town of Independence.

Ueno's arrest and jailing—he was the first Manzanarian to be jailed outside the camp—aroused hostility among the other internees. They widely believed him innocent of any part in the beating of Tayama, although many reviled Tayama for his alleged role as a government informant and for his promotion of unpopular JACL policies regarding the management of Manzanar and the drafting of the *Nisei* into the military from behind barbed wire. Many internees felt, too, that Ueno was being victimized because of his recent report to the Federal Bureau of Investigation that certain WRA administrators were appropriating internees' meat and sugar allotments and selling them on the black market. At least in part because of the pressure mounted by an internee committee formed to protest Ueno's removal from Manzanar, Ralph P.

Merritt, the camp's director, agreed to return Ueno to the camp on December 6 and have him placed in the jail there for further processing.

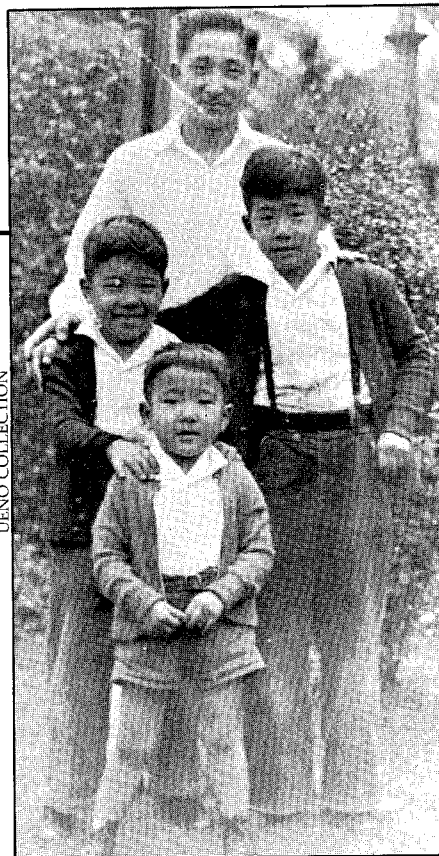
At 6 P.M., when the negotiating committee appeared at Mess Hall 22, where Ueno was employed as a cook, to report that Ueno had returned, the committee encountered a crush of some 2,000 to 4,000 internees. When the committee attempted to disband, its objective having been accomplished, the move was shouted down by the crowd which felt Ueno should be unconditionally released. If not, it would use force to free him. Moreover, some in the angry crowd yelled that internees like Tayama, who many considered the camp's number one *inu* or dog, should be murdered.

Next, some of the crowd devised a hurried plan of action wherein one group set out to find Tayama in the camp hospital to finish the job begun the night before and the other moved to liberate Ueno from jail. Thwarting the first group, hospital personnel hid Tayama under his bed; the second group became involved in what came to be known as the Manzanar Riot.

Though interviewers Embrey and Hansen were familiar with what preceded the riot, what transpired at the camp jail once the demonstrators arrived there had remained clouded. Following is an excerpt from Ueno's interview, transcribed and edited by Betty E. Mitson, in which Ueno relates what he witnessed from his vantage point inside the Manzanar jail in the California desert that particular evening in 1942.



Did any of the internees see you when you came back from Independence?



In 1940, Harry Ueno and his family lived peacefully in Los Angeles; two years later they were interned at Manzanar as security risks for the duration of World War II.

Only the people inside the jail. There were about five or six inmates in there. They told me, "A lot of people were rushing around here last night." They told me what was going on. Then pretty soon the committee of five, [Joe] Kurihara [a Hawaii-born *Nisei* World War I veteran who was outspoken in his opposition to the evacuation, the camp administration, and suspected internee collaborationists] and the other four people [three *Issei* (Japan-born) and one *Kibei*] came over and talked to me [in the jail]. They said, "Wait a little while. We are going to negotiate, and we might get you released or something. So just wait quietly in here." So I slept in the jail for awhile, until another hour or so. Then, little by little, people started coming by the police station and the administration building. A lot of them came over to the window and

shook hands with me because the window was wide open. I could have walked out if I had wanted to. Some of them said, "Come on, let's go out." I said, "No."

Michi Weglyn's book [Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps (New York: Morrow, 1976), p. 6] shows a picture of the Manzanar jail. It appears that it would be impossible for a prisoner to look out of a window. How could you have gone out a window?

No, no. They had a great big window. I think there were two windows. The glass was wide open, so I could have walked out if I had wanted to.

Would you describe the jail?

The jail was just a regular barrack like those we lived in. I think that half or one-third was taken up by the police station, and the rest was for the jail purpose, see. So the window was wide open; I could have gotten out anytime I wanted to. But I didn't want to break my promise to the negotiating committee, so I stayed in there. Then by the evening. . . .

Had you seen your wife yet?

No, she didn't come to the jail because they [the committee] told her, "Maybe by late tonight, we might have good news."

Oh, you might be released.

Yeah, so that's why she didn't come over. She was waiting at home.

About six o'clock, I guess, it started getting a little darker, and a lot of people filled up the open space there [in front of the jail]. They were yelling and shouting, and the wind was blowing about thirty-five miles an hour. You know how Manzanar is, when the wind is whipped up;

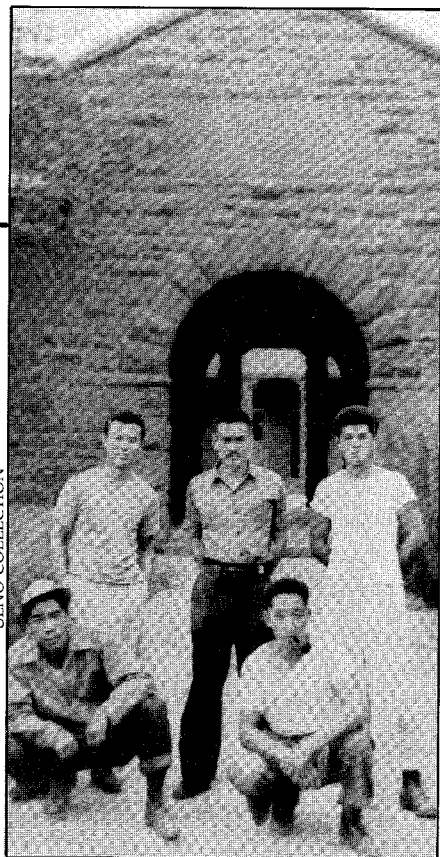
it's dusty and pebbles fly. It was kind of a cold night. I think it was about a little after six that I noticed some of the MPs were shaking because so many people were out there—young fellows. Then the sergeant in charge went around and said, "Remember Pearl Harbor!" He was yelling, "Hold your ground!" Because they were scared, see. Two or three times he went around yelling, "Remember Pearl Harbor! Hold your ground!" In the meantime, I could see that Captain [Martyn L.] Hall [commander of the military police, which had been called in to the Manzanar camp from their adjacent compound by Project Director Ralph P. Merritt] was in the sentry box because the top of the sentry box was glass and lights were right in there. I could see that he was meeting with two or three people inside the sentry box. Then soon they [the military police] started putting on gas masks. So I told the people in the front, "You'd better back off, because they're going to. . . ."

When did the guards come in? When did the soldiers come in?

They were already there when they brought me back from Independence. Then they were putting on the gas masks. So I told the people, "You'd better step back. Otherwise, they are going to throw the tear gas." I could see the tear gas canisters.

You were talking to some of the people?

Yes, in the front of the jail. I could yell because they were all nearby. So they started to back up a little bit. Then as soon as they put on the gas masks, they started throwing the canisters. I don't know how many—ten or twenty. You know,



Branded a troublemaker after the Manzanar riot, Ueno (with pipe) was incarcerated at the government's permanent isolation center in Leupp, Arizona.

the smoke was so whipped up with the wind, and people started running. And you couldn't see anything; the smoke covered it up.

Then I heard five or six shots nearby and tommy guns or machine guns on the far east side of the police station. When the smoke was clear, I saw one man laying on the ground. I was hoping that just . . . I heard the gunshot, but I hoped that it was just a dummy bullet. I was hoping it was just to scare off the people. But I saw one person laying flat in the front of the police station. As soon as everything cleared, I saw them carry in that boy.

Into the police station?

Into the police station side of the building, and they put him right on top of the table. He had a bullet in his stomach, and he had a little bit of life left.

Raymond Hirai [an internee] was

sitting there and another fellow [internee]. You know, when this other fellow saw that the boy was shot, he yelled, "Is this a democracy? My gosh, I made a mistake!" In other words . . . a lot of people thought he was working for the FBI. A lot of Japanese had been stool-pigeoned by him. I haven't any proof, but that's what the people had talked about. But he said, "I made a mistake. How could I have known such a thing would happen?" He was yelling about himself. That was about 9:30 P.M.

Mr. Ueno, just before, when you were in the jail and the crowd had gathered and you were talking to them, I've heard that the negotiating committee had lost control of the crowd. That the crowd was no longer listening to their suggestions. Is that pretty accurate?

I think that the crowd was impatient. The committee was looking for Merritt. After the riot, I talked to Kurihara and others. They were looking for Merritt, up and down the administration building and all around. But they couldn't find Merritt, because Merritt was outside in the sentry box talking with Captain Hall and [James W.] Gilkey [Chief Internal Security Officer]. He wasn't there. In the meantime, the crowd was getting impatient. So I think it was partly Merritt's fault. If he had stayed out and talked to the committee, they could have calmed down the people, maybe.

He let things get out of hand.

Yeah. But I didn't see people carrying rocks or sticks or anything like that, as was shown in the *Farewell to Manzanar* television show. I never saw anybody doing that. I couldn't see on the other side of the administration building. But as far as I



could see, nobody threw anything physically.

How about singing patriotic Japanese songs?

They sang the Japanese navy march song and others too. It was cold. They had to exercise to keep warm, so they were singing those kind of march songs, yes. But otherwise, I didn't see any direct violence toward the MPs. I know the MPs were only a few, compared to the big crowd, so they were scared.

Were the people shot in the front or the back?

The one I saw that fell down, I saw the blood stain on the front. It's possible that he was hit at close range, so the bullet might have penetrated through his body. But the other people, every one—the way I heard, I never saw them—all got the bullet in the back. Every one. [Eleven were wounded, two of them mortally.]

They were running from the tear gas.

Yeah, they were running away. The bullet was a shotgun pellet, but, you see, the pellet was a big one. I think there are six or eight pellets in a shotgun. So if they are at close range, they could probably penetrate the body. I saw the boy named [Katsuji]

Finally transferred in late 1943 to the segregation center for recalcitrants at Tule Lake, where he was held until 1946, Ueno (middle row, second from left) was reunited with his family.

Kanagawa. His blood stain was in the stomach. I don't know, but it probably came from the back and came out in the front. Could be, I don't know for sure.

There is some confusion about one point that I keep reading about in different reports. It is said one way one time and another way another time. There's a lot of talk that just prior to the shooting somebody released a driverless car in the direction of the jail and that it hit into the jail. And after it hit the jail, the firing followed. Some people say that this happened after the firing. Others say that it never even happened. Do you recall anything like that?

No, nothing on the jail.

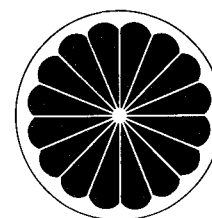
No truck?

No, no truck on the jail. But, you see, the line was long, you know, a lot of people were in the front there, and the other side curved in, so I couldn't see beyond that. But I saw nothing like that happen on the front of the jail, or nearby the jail. The only thing, they were attacking the MPs verbally, and the young

MPs were kind of shaking and scared. I don't blame them; there were so many people in front. Probably a lot of them had never seen Japanese people before in their lives until they were called into the service.

Did you hear any order to shoot?

No, no. Nothing. That's why as soon as a shot was fired, I could see Captain Hall running back to the jail building. He called the sergeant and asked, "Who did the shooting?" The sergeant said he shot twice. I made a record of it. Another young MP reported that he fired three shots, and another said he shot once. I heard that reported to Captain Hall. I could hear a machine gun or something away over on the other side. It was a little more, kind of quick, what you call tat-tat-tat-tat, at the other end.



During the night of the riot, the camp remained in a turbulent state. Kitchen bells tolled continuously, beatings of accused informers ensued, and military police units patrolled the camp and broke up



CLEM ALBERS, WRA

Work parties of evacuees cleared the land of brush at the Manzanar Relocation Center.

numerous gatherings of evacuees. Those whose names appeared on blacklists and deathlists—along with their families and some WRA staffers—were spirited out of the camp by the administration and placed in protective custody. Then the administration began a roundup of the individuals believed to be responsible for the disruption. Within the next few days, the first group was sent to an abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp in Death Valley, while the latter was imprisoned within local town jails.

Never charged nor given a hearing, Harry Ueno was again removed from Manzanar after midnight following the riot and taken this time to the jail at Bishop, the largest town in Inyo County. A few days later, he was transferred to the jail in Lone Pine along with a number of other suspected troublemakers. During the month that they were there, Ueno recalls, the military policemen guarding them sometimes got drunk in the night and peppered their cell door with rifle shots.

On January 9, 1943, this group of suspects was transported by bus and train to Moab, Utah. Most of the next four months of Ueno's time was spent in this temporary isolation center (which also had been a CCC

camp) established in the mountains outside of Moab by the WRA authorities for dissidents from all of the ten camps. His last two weeks were passed in the county jail in downtown Moab after a disagreement with a guard. From there Ueno was trucked in a 4 × 6-foot box with five or six other men across three states to the town of Leupp, Arizona, which the WRA had selected as the site of the permanent isolation center for internees deemed recalcitrant. Prior to settling into the camp at Leupp, replete with guard towers, a high fence, and 150 military police assigned to guard about 45 internees, Ueno was jailed in nearby Winslow for two or three days where he was served adulterated food, housed in cramped quarters, and left inadequately protected from the oppressive weather. When finally taken to the camp at Leupp, he was jailed for about two weeks before being granted housing in a barrack. Ueno had not yet, in spite of repeated WRA promises and his persistent demands for their fulfillment, received a trial or hearing to determine his guilt or innocence to any charge that

caused him to be removed from his family at Manzanar and detained at various jails and camps.

When the WRA closed its facilities at Leupp in December 1943, almost a year to the day after the riot at Manzanar, Ueno was transferred to the segregation center at Tule Lake. Again he spent an initial week in an Army-supervised stockade before he was permitted to live in the compound. At last reunited with his wife and children, he promised the director of the center, Ray Best, that he would remain apart from all camp politics. Although a distressed Ueno had renounced his citizenship while at Moab, he was ultimately persuaded in late December 1945 by his knowledge of the devastated condition of postwar Japan to remain in the United States and spare his family any further hardship. Three months later, he was released from Tule Lake, one of the last to go.

After working on the railroad in several small central California towns, Ueno turned to farming in the Santa Clara valley. In 1954, his citizenship was restored. At the time of his interview in 1976, Ueno appeared to have achieved a measure of affluence, but these circumstances had not induced in him a state of amnesia about his past.

Today, he no longer harbors grievances either against the government which deprived him of his rights and his liberty or persons with whom he differed during America's "years of infamy." Still, he staunchly believes that America should take whatever measures needed to prevent the repetition of what Eugene V. Rostow, noted authority on constitutional law, has called this country's "greatest wartime mistake." □

(See page 77 for notes.)

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Indians of California: The Changing Image.

By James J. Rawls. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984. xvi, 293 pp. \$19.95 hardcover.)

Reviewed by Lowell John Bean, Professor of Anthropology at California State University, Hayward, and author of numerous books on California Indians.

For the most part, the historical literature, both professional and popular, treats California's Indians with considerable neglect or abuse because the authors have failed to look at what is known about the Indians' culture and history. Why factually incorrect and simplistic stereotypes about California Indians continue for generation after generation is puzzling. Jim Rawls's book, *Indians of California*, suggests the reason.

Dr. Rawls has written a remarkable book—the sort of book one wishes one had written oneself. He has addressed a very significant problem, applying rigorous method and a broad philosophical approach not only to a problem within California's written history, but to a problem in the history of many cultures and their relationships with others. His book is a study in stigma, in the persistence of cultural misinformation by one culture vis-à-vis another.

Rawls explains to us how and why each of the European cultures which interacted with California Indians has viewed them. He notes that the views were efficient and useful to the cultures that entered California. Cultural attitudes are always more rooted in the need of the people who develop them than they are in the reality of the culture being viewed.

It is particularly appropriate that this book be published at this time. Discussions with historians and recent articles on the settlement of California indicate a shocking state of historical revisionism. This includes a vigorous concern for defending and even denying

much of the horror about the conquest of California by Europeans.

For the most part, the history of the Indians and the impact of European culture has remained veiled, hidden, or ignored in all levels of publications—grade school, high school, college level, and serious scholarly work. The images of California Indians as simple, lacking in culture or sophistication, and not utilizing or manipulating their environment in efficient ways are images which, Rawls points out, began at the very first instance of European contact and continue until this day. These are useful ideas for some non-Indians—useful for ignoring needs and for arguing in legal suits that Indians should not have legal claims for losses.

When I first began working with California Indians in 1958, I talked to elderly people whose grandparents and

The Klamath tribe's red-headed woodpecker dance evidences the cultural complexity that contemporary anthropologists now believe characterized California's Indians.

parents had told them of their early experiences with Europeans. This information was for the most part new to me. The anthropological literature contained little of it despite the publications of S. F. Cook, and the historical literature was bereft of the experiences remembered by Indians. Later it became apparent to me why Indian-White relationships were so often strained. It was because in the memories passed down to the elders' children and grandchildren were the kinds of facts that Rawls discusses. His book tells how the Spanish, the Mexicans, and the first Americans who came to California viewed Indians varyingly as people to be isolated, exterminated, or used as cheap labor or slaves. It clearly



exposes the *raison d'être* for this sort of thinking, that reason being if people have no culture or way of life seen to be worthy in terms of another's value system, one can behave without guilt or conscience toward them. Sufficient social distance can be maintained so that exploitation, prejudice, and even extermination are possible. (Anthropologists refer to this as the development of a "sectoral morality.")

If there are any shortcomings in Rawls' book, they are problems which he has chosen not to develop, nor perhaps should they be in this volume. Better than any other current active historian, Rawls has kept pace with the contemporary anthropological literature that belies the ignorance of past interpretations of California Indians. Historians should be aware that anthropologists today see much greater social, political, economic and philosophical sophistication among California Indians than did earlier anthropologists such as A.L. Kroeber, and consequently, reliance on the literature of California Indian anthropology written two or three generations ago is no longer appropriate. Quite the contrary, the prevailing view among anthropologists today is that California Indians were among the most sophisticated and culturally complex peoples in the world who depended upon hunting and gathering and quasi-agricultural systems.

Rawls' study also suggests the need for further research into the process of cultural stigmatization and social distancing. It would be appropriate to investigate what the counter-views of the American Indians were toward Europeans and the images and stereotypes they developed about European culture. Another area of interest suggested by Rawls' brilliant work is how stereotypes and images continue in other aspects of our lives. In the epilogue of the book, Rawls brings the reader up to the development of the Indian reservation in California and reminds us that the modern reservation, an institution which spread across the country and has sig-

nificantly affected American Indians and American culture since, was invented in California. The kinds of images and stereotypes prevailing in this system are not unlike those Rawls describes for earlier times. The persistence of these images in the face of abundant data which demonstrate that they are not true is a process in itself worth examining. What is the vested interest, for example, of the Bureau of Indian Affairs that encourages it to continue propagating such similar sorts of images?

Rawls, then, in addition to revealing hidden aspects of American culture and its relationship to the American Indian, has provided us a way of looking at a present-day condition and, certainly, at groups other than the Indian. □

The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915.

By Burton Benedict with contributions by Marjorie M. Dobkin, Gray Brechin, Elizabeth N. Armstrong & George Starr. (London & Berkeley: Lowie Museum of Anthropology in conjunction with Scholar Press, 1983. 175 pages. \$15.00.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, author of Indians of California: The Changing Image (1984) and coauthor of California: An Interpretive History (1983) and Land of Liberty: A United States History (1985).

In the opening essay of this remarkable book, Burton Benedict surveys the history of world's fairs from the Crystal Palace of 1851 to the Osaka Exposition of 1970. He applies the discipline of anthropology to the recurring phenomena of world's fairs, and thereby offers some fascinating insights.

Benedict compares the world's fair to the potlatch of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest. Both the potlatch and the

world's fair are held on special ceremonial grounds, and in both instances the participants offer massive displays of goods to establish or validate their rank. The parallel extends even to the denouement of the two rituals. At the close of a typical world's fair, its grand but temporary structures are destroyed. So too in the ultimate potlatch. Great quantities of goods are destroyed before rivals, thus unequivocally demonstrating the abundance of wealth possessed by the destroyer.

Benedict also offers an intriguing analysis of the changing layout and arrangement of exhibits at the various world's fairs. The first expositions, he points out, were held in single buildings. As the scale of the fairs expanded, the grounds came to include theme buildings for the display of such categories of goods as fine arts, manufactures, and food products. In the late nineteenth century the fairgrounds came to be dominated by large national pavilions. Each nation competed with the others in trumpeting its own products and national virtues. Finally, in the twentieth century, it has been the buildings of the great multinational corporations which have grown to dominate the grounds. Thus corporate enterprises have emerged as the final players in the great potlatch tradition. Benedict concludes that the ground plans of the fairs reflect both the growth of nationalism and the rise of the multinational corporation.

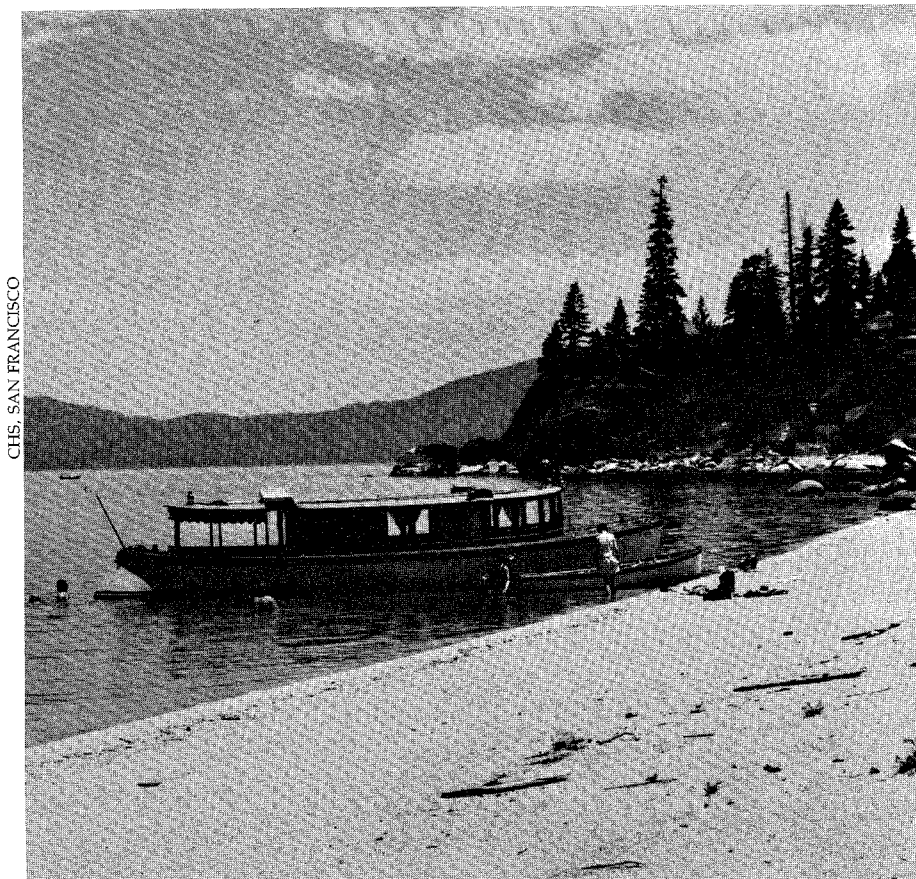
Marjorie M. Dobkin, in her essay on the planning and politics of the Panama Pacific International Exposition, demonstrates that the rejected Burnham Plan for San Francisco was applied in principle to the design of the PPIE. The Burnham Plan, which would have transformed The City into The City Beautiful, thus found some application in the realm of fantasy. Dobkin does well to relate the PPIE to the graft trials of the Ruef era. She correctly points out that the reformers who supported the graft trials were conspicuously absent from the PPIE board of directors. She errs, however, in suggesting that the split be-

tween the conservative and reform factions in the city "erupted into violence" with the shooting of prosecutor Francis Heney in 1908. There was, in fact, no evidence that the attempted assassination was in anyway connected with the "graft defense." Dobkin also mistakenly identifies Hiram Johnson as the gubernatorial candidate of the "newly-formed Progressive party in 1910." Johnson ran and was elected governor in 1910 as the candidate of the Republican party.

Gray Brechin's beautifully written essay on the architecture of the fair describes the PPIE as an expression of San Francisco's mythic identity. "This was what San Francisco wanted to be, but could only sustain for nine months. It was an evocation of a past that never was." Likewise, Elizabeth N. Armstrong interprets the public art of the fair as an embodiment of the values of westering man—vitality and exuberance, strength and mastery.

The final essay in the volume is George Starr's chronicle of the various interpreters of the PPIE. The fair itself strained with self-consciousness, filled with sculpture and painting which was overtly symbolic. Visitors to the fair responded to the challenge, invariably "reading" the PPIE for its true meaning. Starr's own reading of the epicenter of the fair, the colossal Tower of Jewels, is harsh. The tower, he avers, "fell into bathos; its closest affinities were not with structures elsewhere on the Exposition grounds, but with the bombastic kitsch of sets for motion pictures like *Ben Hur*."

The Anthropology of World's Fairs is a wonderfully produced book, well designed and illustrated with many finely colored plates. Its essays are generally sound and always provocative. The book was originally published in conjunction with an exhibit at the Lowie Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley. It is an important contribution to our understanding of the place of world's fairs in our own culture, and it offers a thoughtful analysis of that grandest of the San Francisco fairs, the Panama Pacific. □



Tahoe: An Environmental History

By Douglas H. Strong. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. xviii, 252 pp. \$16.95.)

Reviewed by William Kahl, author of Water and Power and editor of the California Water Atlas. He writes a column on California political issues for the Los Angeles Times.

Fifteen years ago the environmentalist writer William Bronson suggested that the time may have come to kiss Lake Tahoe goodbye. Despite continuing evidence of the lake's degradation and the often venal incompetence of the agencies entrusted with its protection, Douglas H. Strong still isn't quite ready to pucker up.

In *Tahoe*, Strong recounts the sad history of the lake from its formation and early exploration to the renegotiation in 1980 of the bi-state compact between California and Nevada which governs the operation of the Tahoe Regional

Efforts to preserve Lake Tahoe's environment date to the 1930s when local residents such as these swimmers at Rubicon Beach clashed with local commercial interests.

Planning Agency today. This is not so much the environmental history the subtitle promises as it is a story of governmental institutions, local, state, and federal, often working at cross-purposes and generally not working at all.

Strong's clear, dispassionate prose performs a valuable service in putting many aspects of the modern conflict over the lake's future into its proper historical context. For example, efforts to preserve the environment of the lake from overdevelopment are not a creation of post-1960s eco-consciousness. Local residents were fighting to save the lake back in the 1930s and, then as now, saw their best intentions strangled by greedy local commercial interests.

Similarly, the idea that a complete federal takeover offers the only hope for the lake basin's long-term protection did not catch hold in the present generation simply because everything else from local control to regional authority has so obvi-

ously failed. The federal government has been studying the lake's potential as a national park ever since the turn of the last century and rejected the concept initially because even then the quality of the Tahoe environment had been so degraded that it no longer seemed to qualify as fit for federal preservation.

This is a rich story to which Strong brings no new penetrating insights. His text offers a meticulous review of events but no real analysis that would help us to gain perspective either on the meaning of this dismal public record or the motivations of the many people who have contributed to it. As such, his book should prove pleasing for readers on both sides of the current battle lines. He is mildly optimistic about the future, moderately distressed by the decline of the basin's environmental quality, but cautiously respectful of the points of view of everyone involved.

One might wish for more in a story that has been the cause of so much passionate dispute, but that is not the kind of book Strong has chosen to write. □

New Force on the Left: Tom Hayden and the Campaign Against Corporate America.

By John H. Bunzel. (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1983. 131 pp. \$6.95.)

Reviewed by Spencer C. Olin, Jr., Professor of History, University of California, Irvine. Dr. Olin, who is also Director of the Focused Research Program in Orange County Area Studies at the university, is author of California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917 and California Politics, 1846-1920: The Emerging Corporate State.

This feisty little book will infuriate not only Tom Hayden's supporters but also

those who prefer probing analyses to polemical tracts. *New Force on the Left* is a provocative attempt by John Bunzel, a political scientist and former president of San Jose State University who is now associated with the Hoover Institution, to discredit Hayden's current political activities by warning us of "the ghosts of the radical past" and "neo-Marxist myths and mirrors." According to Bunzel, those ghosts today haunt the programs of Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy.

Bunzel, it should be pointed out, also has ghosts who haunt his own views of America's economic development. More than twenty years ago, he wrote in similarly deprecating terms about small businessmen who were anachronistically clinging to pre-industrial values rather than getting in step with the realities of an advanced industrial age. In seeking the best ways to organize industrial society, Bunzel adamantly rejected the leadership of these small entrepreneurs, who lacked "the qualities necessary to guide a great democracy in time of crisis." Instead, it was the corporate businessmen who possessed the imagination and long-range planning skills required by the leaders of a powerful nation. Not at all surprising, then, that Bunzel should be so repelled by Hayden's contemporary left-wing (though non-Marxist) assault on corporate capitalism.

New Force on the Left begins with a description of Hayden as an SDS student activist in the 1960s, including his participation in the Economic Research and Action Project, the Newark Community Union Project, and the peace movement. The book then proceeds to a brief discussion of Hayden's views in the 1960s regarding the use of violence. In Bunzel's opinion, it was Hayden's experiences in the South, in the ghetto, and in Vietnam that finally convinced him of the limits of reform and inclined him toward more "extremist" and confrontational alternatives. (Bunzel recalls having been in Chicago in August 1968 as a delegate from California to the Democratic Na-

tional Convention while Hayden devoted his energies there to violent radical protest, thereby allegedly contributing to Nixon's victory that year.) Bunzel dismisses as a devious "ploy" Hayden's assertion in the late-1960s that the establishment was itself the primary user of violence. In this instance, as in others, Hayden is the more knowledgeable observer, for the historical record clearly reveals that the great bulk of this nation's violence has been repressive (by the State or ruling groups), not expressive or insurrectionary.

In recent years, Hayden has shifted his overall strategy while retaining his basic critique of American society. He has moved inside the political system. In the process, he has created a legitimate, non-revolutionary organization called the Campaign for Economic Democracy. Bunzel's description of that vehicle for change stresses its goal to elect local and state officials committed to Hayden's "post-materialist" program of voluntary simplicity and no-growth. Its "tireless cadre" of supporters are determined to "take over" dozens of California cities, having already won control of Chico, Santa Cruz, and Santa Monica. Vigorously pursuing such "emotionally-charged" populist issues as housing and rent control, the CED, according to Bunzel, seeks to generate "class feelings" of hardship and inequality while promoting the redistribution of wealth and power. By focusing on city councils and state legislatures rather than on Congress and the White House, such efforts constitute a major departure for liberals and progressives in this country. (Here Bunzel forgets the very similar efforts by American socialists at the municipal level in the early twentieth century.)

Bunzel's most biting scorn is reserved for Hayden's condemnation of corporate capitalism as an economic system. Responding to the charge of monolithic corporate domination of this nation's affairs, Bunzel presents a competing pluralist viewpoint that emphasizes the positive roles of market forces, con-

sumer sovereignty, regulatory agencies, and pressure groups serving as external restraints on unlimited corporate power. Hayden's analysis, on the other hand, is seriously flawed "because he equates possession of resources with the possession of power" and because he has little understanding of the need for economic growth and profit as "spurs to action." While "there is some truth to Hayden's charges," all in all they are exaggerated and defective.

To be sure, we need careful scrutiny of all political programs and organizations, the CED included. *New Force on the Left*, however, fails to contribute very much to serious political debate about options. It is too obsessively focused on Hayden's 1960s activities and their reverberations in the 1980s, thereby miss-

ing what is valuable about his current efforts. This is highly unfortunate, for at a time when we find ourselves in a number of intellectual cul-de-sacs and badly in need of some questioning of fundamental assumptions, Bunzel might have been less worried about "the ghosts of the radical past" and more concerned about alternative routes to social betterment.

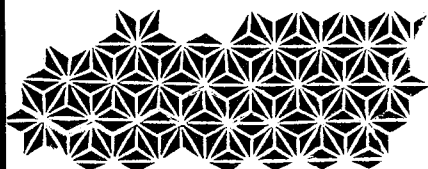
One possible alternative suggested by the CED would require movement away from our customary modern reliance on centralized and bureaucratic institutions, whether public or private. This path would involve an expansion and energizing of local initiatives. Bunzel himself declares that "factional conflict and the competition for power among individuals and groups in society" are

essential conditions of a political democracy. Given his own ideological preferences, there is every reason for Bunzel to oppose the political content of the CED's programs. At the same time, is it unreasonable to suggest that he might welcome that organization's reassertion of the importance of citizen participation in local settings? Curiously, the virtues of such local activism remain a blind spot for many Americans, who celebrate the potential vitality of churches, kinship networks, and voluntary associations without ever investing them with any political content. Could it be that when it comes down to the nitty-gritty, down to practice rather than mere rhetoric, Bunzel and many others would actually prefer to reverse the intrusions of democratic politics in the United States? □

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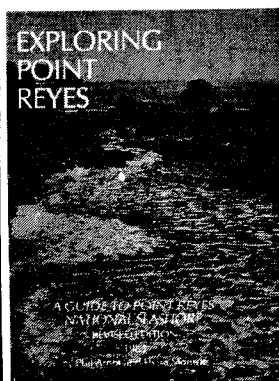
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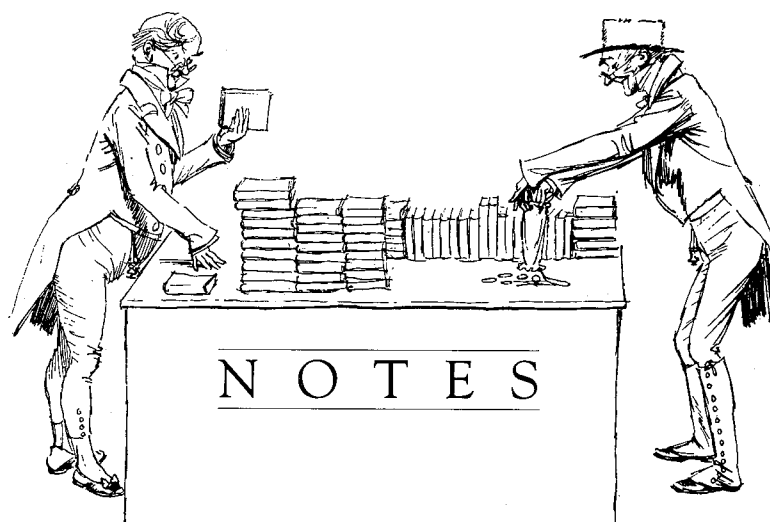
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3. *Member's Annual* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1921), p. 41.
4. *Going South for the Winter with Hints to Consumptives* (New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1873), p. 222.
5. Charles Dwight Williard, *History of the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes, Neuner, 1899), pp. 30-31.
6. John Baur, *Health Seekers of Southern California* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1959); Billy M. Jones, *Health Seekers in the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967); Glenn Dumke, "Advertising Southern California Before the Boom of 1887," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, 24 (March 1942): pp. 16-17.
7. Edna Monch Parker, "The Southern Pacific Railroad and Settlement in Southern California," *Pacific Historical Review*, 6 (June 1937): 107-114; Nordhoff, *California*, pp. 107-108; Dumke, "Advertising Southern California Before the Boom of 1887," pp. 18-19. The best selection of Southern Pacific promotional brochures is at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
8. Parker, "The Southern Pacific Railroad and Settlement in Southern California," pp. 108-111; Dumke, "Advertising Southern California Before the Boom of 1887," p. 18.
9. See, for example, N.C. Carnall, *California Guide for Tourists and Settlers* (San Francisco: Carnall, 1889); *California for Health, Pleasure, and Profit: Why You Should Go There* (San Francisco: Southern Pacific, 1893). An exception was Paul Shoup (ed.), *California: South of the Tehachapis* (San Francisco: Southern Pacific, 1903).
10. (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1876), pp. 123-124.
11. Norman Stanley, *No Little Plans* (Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, 1956), pp. 5-6.
12. *Member's Annual* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1910), p. 18.
13. Symes, "The Beautiful and the Dumb," pp. 22-32; Walter Woerlke, "How Long Los Angeles?" *Sunset*, 52 (April 1924): 10-11; B.C. Forbes, "Cities in the Making," *Overland Monthly*, 58 (October 1930): 305; Lee Shippey, Max Yavno, *The Los Angeles Book* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), pp. 43-57; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1973), pp. 165-182.
14. Richard Mathison, *Three Cars in Every Garage* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968), pp. 32-34; J. Allen Davis, *A Friend to All Motorists: The Story of the Automobile Club of Southern California Through Sixty-Five Years, 1900-1965* (Los Angeles: Automobile Club, 1967), pp. 16-17; *Southern California: Vacationland Supreme* (Los Angeles: All Year Club, 1925), pp. 34-35.
15. George French, *Twentieth Century Advertising* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1926), pp. 37-49; James Playsted Wood, *The Story of Advertising* (New York: Ronald Press, 1958), pp. 363-370; C.G. Milham, *Southern California All The Year* (Los Angeles All Year Club, 1924), p. 36; C.G. Milham, "The All-Year Club of Southern California," *Western Advertising*, 5 (April 1923): 7-9, 43-44. The Club's view of its mission is explained in *Your Tourist Industry* (Los Angeles: All Year Club, 1938).
16. Mathison, *Three Cars in Every Garage*, pp. 88-89; Davis, *A Friend to All Motorists*, p. 105; *Southern California: Year-Round Vacationland Supreme* (Los Angeles: All Year Club, 1925), pp. 18-27; *Southern California All The Year* (Los Angeles: All Year Club, 1924), pp. 2-9. The two best collections of All Year Club material are at the Urban Archives at California State University, Northridge, and the UCLA Special Collections Department.
17. *By-Laws of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce* (Los Angeles: R.W. Pridham, 1892), p. 1.
18. *The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce: Its Service to You and its Value to the Community* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1925), p. 5. The Chamber's view of its mission is best presented in: *What the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Does for Southern California* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1900); *Exhibit and work of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1910); *Member's Annual* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1910), pp. 18-26, 51-52; J.M. Gwinn, *A History of California and an Extended History of Los Angeles and Environs* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1915), II: 94-97.
19. Stanley, *No Little Plans*, pp. 5-12; *Member's Annual*, 1910, p. 19; William Spaulding (compiler), *History and Reminiscences of Los Angeles City and County, California*, I (Los Angeles: J.R. Finnel, 1931): 282-283, 305-306, 318.
20. *The Member's Annual* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1925-1926), pp. 107-108; *The Member's Annual* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1928), pp. 51-52; "The World's Greatest City—In Prospect," *World's Work*, 47 (December 1923): 140-142.
21. The entire collection of photographs is now on file at the California Historical Society's History Center in Los Angeles. For details on its discovery and organization, see "L.A. of Yesterday: A Photographic Find," *Americana*, 8 (January/February, 1981): 77-80; Tom Zimmerman, "Paradise Promoted," *California Historical Courier*, 36 (April, 1984): 1, 4.
22. *Facts About Industrial Los Angeles: Nature's Workshop* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1924), p. 10; *General Industrial Report of Los Angeles, California and its Metropolitan Area* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1926); *Climate and Health in Los Angeles County* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1909); *Climate: What it Means* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1902). The best collection of Chamber of Commerce publications is at the California Historical Society's History Center in Los Angeles.
23. The most complete statement of the Chamber's position on aviation is *Los Angeles County Spreads Her Wings* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1929). Ford Carpenter's published essays are at the CHS's History Center in Los Angeles.
24. A general history of the automobile in Southern California is Mathison, *Three Cars in Every Garage*; Ashleigh

- Brilliant, "Some Aspects of Mass Motorization in Southern California, 1919-1929," *Southern California Quarterly*, 67 (June 1965): 191-208. All of the continuously published Chamber pamphlets, *Los Angeles: City and County* and *Los Angeles Today*, in particular, noted the various means of reaching the city.
25. The best general history of the inter-urban system is Spencer Crump, *Ride the Big Red Cars: How Trolleys Helped Build Southern California* (Corona del Mar: Trans-Anglo Books, 1962).
 26. *Los Angeles: City and County*, published between 1890 and 1919, is the best indicator of how the Chamber position on promoting agriculture changed. For its views on the harbor, see Board of Government Engineers, *In the Matter of the Location of a Deep Water Harbor in San Pedro or Santa Monica Bays* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1892); *The Port of Los Angeles: Its History, Development and Commerce* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1922); *Los Angeles Harbor as a Submarine Base Sight* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1920).
 27. *Los Angeles County, California: 150th Anniversary* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1931), p. 49. Examples of Chamber lures to industry are in *Los Angeles: The Chicago of the Southwest* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1904); *An Invitation to Buyers from the Market Place of the West* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1926).
 28. The photo essays appear in volume 120 (1928) of *The Independent*: Cleveland, January 7, pp. 11-14; Kansas City, February 4, pp. 107-110; Los Angeles, April 7, pp. 331-334; St. Louis, May 5, 1928, pp. 427-430; and Duluth, June 2, pp. 523-526.
 29. For detailed studies of the architecture of Los Angeles, see David Gebhard, Robert Winter, *A Guide to Architecture in Los Angeles and Southern California* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1977); Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1973); Paul Gleye, *The Architecture of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Rosebud Books, 1981).
 30. Even those critical of the way Los Angeles was developing never failed to be amazed by its diversity and energy. See Louis Adamic, "Los Angeles! There She Blows!" *Outlook and Independent*, August 13, 1930, pp. 563-565, 594-597; Garet Garrett, "Los Angeles in Fact and Dream," *Saturday Evening Post*, October 18, 1930, pp. 6-7, 134-144.
 31. (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1905), p. 75. The Chamber radically altered its position following the Long Beach earthquake and published *Earthquake Hazard and Earthquake Protection* (Los Angeles, 1933).
 32. *Report to Mr. Asa Keyes, District Attorney, Los Angeles County, California on the Failure of the St. Francis Dam* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1928).
 33. The reading, "Los Angeles 200," edited by John Weaver, is printed in *Los Angeles 1781-1981: A Legacy* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles 200 Committee, 1981), n.p.
 34. Early photo books on the city include *Los Angeles and Vicinity* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1904); *Los Angeles and Vicinity* (San Francisco: Cardinell-Vincent, 1915); *Los Angeles, May 1, 1906*; R.B. Dickinson (compiler), *Los Angeles of Today: Architecturally* (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner, 1896); J.L. LeBerthon, *An Illustrated Souvenir Directory of Southern California* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Herald, [c.] 1904).
 35. (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1923), p. 8.
 36. *Official Tourist Guide* (Los Angeles: All Year Club, 1935), inside front cover, printed in bold-face type.
 37. *Sixty Achieving Years, 1888-1948* (Los Angeles: Chamber of Commerce, 1948), pp. 2-3.
- Daughenbaugh, "Anna Mills' Ascent of Mount Whitney," pp. 42-51.**
1. David Brower and Richard Leonard, "A Climber's Guide to the High Sierra, Part IV, Yosemite Valley," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, February 1940, p. 41.
 2. Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 15.
 3. Josiah Whitney, *Geological Survey of California* (1865), Volume 1, Geology, p. ix.
 4. William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 524-525.
 5. Geologist Clarence King, immediately upon arriving in California, joined the Whitney Survey as a volunteer. The ascent of Mount Whitney became an obsession with him. The day after Brewer and Hoffmann first observed Mount Whitney, King and the party's packer, Dick Cotter, set out to make the first ascent but climbed Mount Tyndall instead. Later the same season, King made his second attempt, also unsuccessful. In 1871, he came back to Mount Whitney for a third attempt. This time, he believed he had made the first ascent. Bad weather and heavy clouds prevented him from seeing that, instead of Mount Whitney, he had made the first ascent of what would later be named Mount Langley. On his fourth and final attempt in 1873, he succeeded, but he was too late to be the first. He left the following record on the summit: "September 19, 1873. This peak, Mt. Whitney, was on this day climbed by Clarence King, U.S. Geologist, and Frank Knowles, of Tule River. On September 1st, in New York, I first learned that Mount Whitney of 1871 was not the highest peak. Storms and clouds prevented me from recognizing it, or I should have come here then. All honor to those who came here before me." Lieutenant George M. Wheeler, *Wheeler Survey Geographical Report. U.S. Geographical Surveys West of the 100th Meridian, I* (1889), p. 100.
 6. John Muir, "A Rival of the Yosemite," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, November 1891, p. 93.
 7. Clarence King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1872), quoted in University of Nebraska reprint, 1970, pp. 90-91.

8. Steve Roper, *Climber's Guide to the High Sierra* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1976), p. 247.
 9. Bolton Coit Brown, "Wanderings in the High Sierra Between Mt. King and Mt. Williamson. Part II," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, May 1897, p. 96.
 10. Helen Gompertz LeConte, "High Water in Tehipite," *Sunset*, September 1902, p. 326.
 11. Farquhar, op. cit., p. 228.
 12. Helen Gompertz LeConte, "The Sierra Club in the Kings River Canyon," *Sunset*, July 1903, p. 251.
 13. Obituary, "Mrs. Anna Mills Johnston Sinks Into Eternal Slumber Today," *Visalia Times-Delta*, June 25, 1921.
 14. "Organization of the Mt. Whitney Club and List of Members," *Mt. Whitney Club Journal*, Volume I, Number 1, p. 37.
 15. William Crapo was a local resident who made the claim that he and Abe Leyda were the first non-Native Americans to ascend Mount Whitney. When Clarence King finally reached the summit in 1873, he substantiated Crapo's claim but reported Crapo had made the ascent in the company of a Mr. Hunter. The claims and counter-claims made in this dispute constitute one of the more fascinating accounts in Sierra history. It is now generally believed that Crapo made the second ascent rather than the first. He was also a member of the third ascent team that was organized to obtain an accurate altitude measurement of Mount Whitney.

In addition to guiding Anna Mills' party, Crapo was the guide for Samuel Pierpont Langley's party that was organized to observe and quantify the quality and quantity of the heat sent to the earth by the sun.
 16. J.W.A. Wright, "In the High Sierras. The Grand View from the Summit of Mount Whitney," *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, November 3, 1881.
 17. W.W. Elliott, *A Guide to the Grand and Sublime Scenery in the Sierra Nevada in the Region about Mount Whitney* (San Francisco: Elliott and Co., 1883), p. 43-45.
 18. Lincoln Hutchinson, "The Ascent of 'Matterhorn Peak'," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, May 1900, p. 16.
 19. In his own account of the trip, Judge Redd added to Miss Mill's description: "Of one thing I am satisfied: Neither of these can be the mountain that Satan took the Savior upon, nor this the country he showed him when he wished him to fall down and worship him; or, if it is, I don't blame him for not accepting the offer." Judge R.C. Redd, "Trip to Mt. Whitney, Kern River, Upper and Lower Lakes," *Visalia Times-Delta*, September 20, 1878.
 20. "Seven Seals" liniment was used for various aches and pains.
 21. Lieutenant George M. Wheeler was a member of the U.S. Army Engineers. He was in charge of a government survey that operated in the Sierra from 1875 until 1878. During 1875, members of the survey made two separate ascents of Mount Whitney, and, by triangulation, made the most accurate estimation of the altitude of Mount Whitney that had ever been made, 14,471 feet above sea level.
 22. Anna Mills Johnston, "A Trip to Mt. Whitney in 1878," *Mt. Whitney Club Journal*, Volume I, Number 1, May 1902, pp. 18-28.
- Burgess, "Oakland's Water War," pp. 34-41.**
1. The early history of the Oakland water supply appears in the author's Master's thesis, *The Early History of the Oakland Water Supply, 1850-1876*. (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1948).
 2. *San Francisco Examiner*, August 16, 1895. During the 1880s and '90s numerous complaints of customer ill-treatment by Contra Costa Water Company appeared in newspapers.
 3. No single work has been written on the public life of Dingee. The Oakland History Room of the Oakland Public Library has a number of references to Dingee.
 4. *Oakland Times*, November 19, 1891; *Oakland Enquirer*, February 27, 1892; *San Francisco Examiner*, May 1, 1892; Articles of Incorporation, *Piedmont Springs Water and Power Company*, Alameda County Clerk's Office; *Contra Costa Water Company v The City of Oakland*, Transcript on Appeal, In the Superior Court of Alameda County, California Supreme Court, 1901, pp. 1084-1088; *San Francisco Examiner*, January 31, May 1, 1892; *San Francisco Enquirer*, February 27, 1892.
 5. *Enquirer*, February 9, 1899.
 6. *Enquirer*, April 14, May 11, 1893; October 1, November 24, 1894; *CCWC v Oakland*, pp. 1077-1079.
 7. *Times*, May 16, 1893; *San Francisco Call*, August 29, 1893. Dingee gave the city council a tour of the Alvarado works and told the council that he was going to pipe the water to Oakland regardless of the council's decision on a public distribution system. The newspapers indicated public support for the idea, but the council did not act.
 8. Articles of Incorporation, *Oakland Water Company*, December 14, 1893; *CCWC v Oakland*, p. 994; *Enquirer*, February 5, 1898. *Times*, December 12, 1894; *Enquirer*, December 12, 1894. Dingee is reported to have sold the Piedmont company for \$1 million in cash and \$3 million in Oakland Company stock. He burned the Piedmont company's books after the sale.

The first report of sabotage of an Oakland Company main was made at this time on December 12, 1894.
 9. *Enquirer*, February 20, March 10, August 28, November 29, 1894; *Tribune*, December 18, 19, 1894; *Examiner*, August 8, 1894; November 22, 1895.
 10. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 18, 1894.
 11. *Enquirer*, February 26, 1895. *Tribune*, April 6, 9, 10, 1895; Letter, William Dingee to O. Feeney, 967-5th Street, Oakland, November 16, 1895.
 12. *San Francisco Call*, February 28, 1895.
 13. *Enquirer*, February 28, March 19, 1895; *Call*, March 1, 1895; *Tribune*, April 17, May 14, 1895.
 14. *Tribune*, April 18, 23, June 6, November 18, 1895; Prof. W.B. Rising, College of Chemistry, University of California, to Henry Pierce, June 11, 1895; *Tribune*, June 12, 1895.
 15. *Times*, *Enquirer*, *Tribune*, July 8, 1895; *Times*, July 9, 1895.
 16. *Enquirer*, July 17, 1895; *Times*, July

- 18, 1895; Letter, Dingee to all Oakland Company subscribers, July 18, 1895.
17. *Enquirer*, August 2, 5, 1895; *Times*, August 3, 1895; *Tribune*, August 5, 1895.
18. Letter, Dingee, July 18, 1895, op. cit.; *Enquirer*, July 18, August 1, August 2, October 4, 1895; *Tribune*, July 29, August 12, 1895.
19. *Tribune*, October 20, 1896; *Times Chronicle*, October 21, 1896.
20. *Enquirer*, September 25, 1897, January 7, 1898; *Tribune*, May 5, 7, 21, September 11, 21, December 4, 1897; *Times*, May 25, 1897.
21. *Enquirer*, January 7, 1898.
22. *Enquirer*, February 22, 23, 24, 25, March 1, 7, 1898. Most of the newspapers carried stories on the water rate situation during February 1898.
23. *Enquirer*, June 29, 1898; *Call*, July 7, 1898; *Tribune*, January 4, 1899.
24. *Tribune*, January 4, 1899; all major papers, February 8, 1899; *Tribune*, February 16, 1899; *Times*, February 20, 24; *Call*, January 20, 1899; *Enquirer*, March 4, 9, 22, 1899; Deed Book, *Oakland Water Company to Contra Costa Water Company*, May 12, 1899, Book 697, p. 101 (Alameda County Recorder's Office); CCWC v *Oakland*, p. 1531; *Enquirer*, April 11, 13, 1899; *Minutes of the Contra Costa Water Company 1900 to 1907*, pp. 51-54. At this time Dingee ordered the books of both companies burned, thus wiping out the original financial records of the companies. Most source materials for the history of the Oakland water supply before 1899 therefore come from newspapers or public documents. See *CCWC v Oakland*, p. 1528.
25. *Tribune*, February 9, 1898. During the council debates on water rates, Dingee stated, "I am here and cannot get away. If I could, why, great God, I'd leave tomorrow and take my company with me!" One of the councilmen moved that a collection be taken up for Dingee.

Verbarg, *Celebrities at your Doorstep*, pp. 29-30, gives a description of the house and an account of the Fernwood fire.

Little is known of Dingee after 1900. Although he retained control

of Contra Costa Water Company for the next few years, he moved to San Francisco soon after the destruction of his Oakland home and bought a mansion at 1882 Washington Street, as well as two homes in New York City. He made his first million in Oakland real estate and water and later made more millions in the slate roof and cement industries. Dingee was also a San Francisco Park Commissioner under the Schmitz administration, which may have proved financially profitable. See *Tribune*, September 8, 1941; *Montclairion*, January 2, 1974.

León and McNeill, The Fifth Class, pp. 52-57.

1. David J. León, "Racism in the University: The Educational Opportunity Program," *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 8 (Fall/Winter 1981): 83-101.
2. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 281-82.
3. *College of California Catalogue*, 1867-68, p. 35.
4. *College of California Catalogue*, 1867-68, pp. 23-29; 1861-62, inside cover.
5. Irving G. Hendrick, *The Education of Non-Whites in California, 1849-1970* (San Francisco: 1977), pp. 4-25; *College of California Catalogue*, 1867-68, p. 34.
6. *State University Catalogue*, 1869-70, pp. 7-12.
7. Rudolph, *American Colleges*, pp. 219, 267.
8. William W. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California* (Berkeley, CA: Sather Gate Book Shop, 1937), pp. 117, 89.
9. *Minutes of the Academic Senate*, January 17, 1870, p. 3; *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, February 5, 1870, p. 127.
10. *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, April 12, 1870, p. 134.
11. *State University Catalogue*, 1869-70, p. 24.
12. *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, September 6, 1870, p. 161.
13. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, VII (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890): 350; Verne

A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868-1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 58.

14. *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, December 22, 1870, p. 187.
15. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 36, 139.
16. *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, April 8, 1872, p. 250.
17. *University Echo*, 2, no. 4 (January 1872), p. 3.
18. *Minutes of the Academic Senate*, December 31, 1870, pp. 44-46.
19. *Minutes of the Academic Senate*, February 3, 1871, pp. 51, 62.
20. Stadtman, *University of California*, p. 56; *Minutes of the Academic Senate*, December 20, 1871, p. 86.
21. *University of California Register*, 1871-72, p. 25.
22. *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, September 5, 1871, p. 224; December 12, 1871, p. 239; January 5, 1872, p. 243.
23. *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, May 24, 1872, p. 257; *Minutes of the Academic Senate*, June 10, 1872, pp. 103-104.
24. *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, July 16, 1872, pp. 262-63.
25. Roy W. Cloud, *Education in California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), p. 59.
26. *University of California Register*, 1872-73, p. 13.
27. John Swett, *History of the Public School System of California* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1876), p. 232; Cloud, *Education*, p. 87.
28. Swett, *Public School System*, p. 245.
29. *Minutes of the Board of Regents*, April 12, 1870, p. 134.

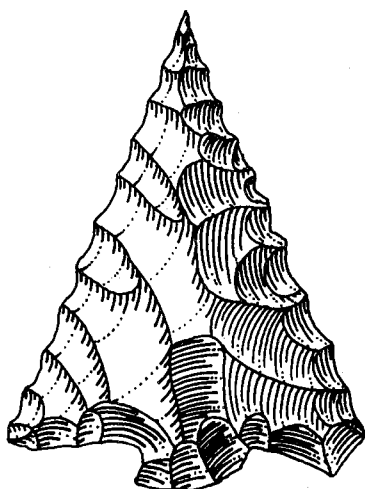
Hansen, Mitson & Embrey, Harry Ueno Remembers, pp. 58-64.

1. The movie was based on Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston's novel by the same name (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973) and originally telecast by the National Broadcasting Company on March 11, 1976.
2. Quoted in James D. Houston and Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, "Other Days of Infamy," *Mother Jones*, February-March 1976, p. 66.



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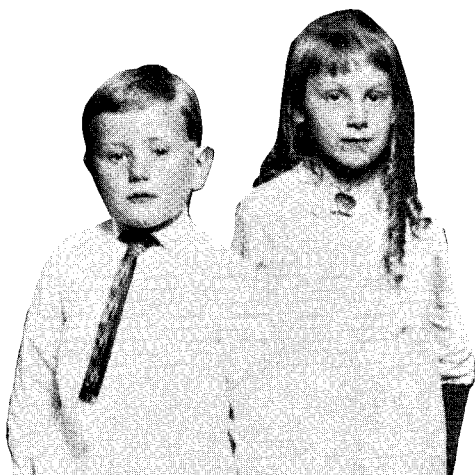


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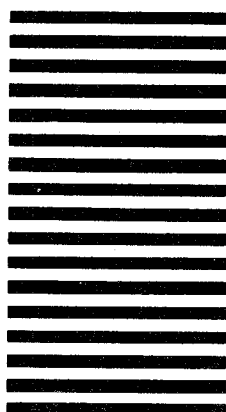
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When the Allyn sisters of San Francisco died in the early 1960s they made sure that their wills reflected their belief in the importance of preserving California's history.

The most visible result of their legacy was the purchase of the imposing Whittier Mansion, which stands at the corner of Laguna and Jackson Streets in San Francisco and houses the Administrative Headquarters of the Society. But their bequest enabled CHS to do more. During the early 1960s a period of growth and expansion occurred within the Society, much of which was funded by the bequest: other buildings were bought and renovated, library collections were increased, essential staff members were added, and general expansion in Northern and Southern California was made possible.

Your will provides an opportunity for you to identify those individuals and institutions which you have valued during your lifetime and provide for them a lasting gift which reflects how much they have meant to you. More than that, a bequest to an institution such as the California Historical Society insures that those things which you value will be perpetuated.

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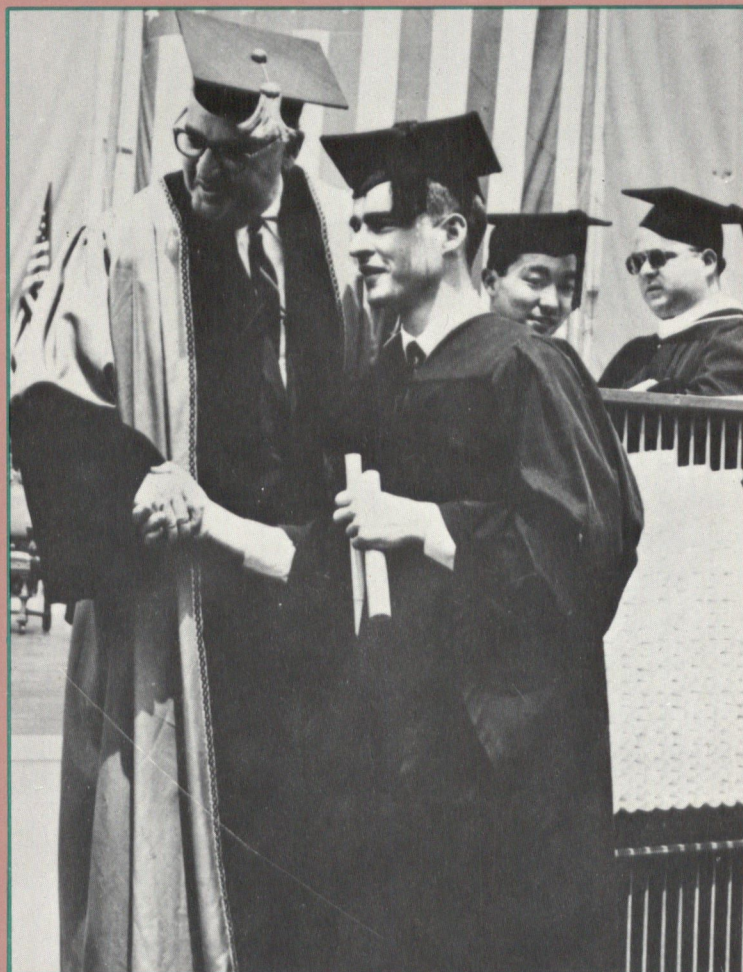
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Two Sisters From San Francisco Who Left More Than Memories Behind

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Governor Edmund ("Pat") Brown's expansive liberalism met its greatest test during the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, the 1960 alma mater of his son (and future governor) Edmund, Jr. ("Jerry"). Edmund G. Brown Collection